

THE SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BYBLOS: TEXT D

BY

BRIAN E. COLLESS

In a previous article on the Byblos syllabary (Colless 1992), a case was made for accepting as substantially correct the decipherment of the Byblian syllabic inscriptions published by George E. Mendenhall (*The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos*, 1985). In my estimation, the main weakness of the table of syllabic signs proposed by Mendenhall (1985, 19) is that the sibilants are too sparsely represented, as also shown by the small number of instances recorded in his index of signs (Mendenhall, 175-176). A remedy for this is to assign the value *ši* to his *pu*, and *si* to his *yu*. My assumption is that there is a *samek* and a *šin* in this Bronze Age language and script, but that these two sibilants do not correspond exactly to their Iron Age counterparts in Hebrew or Phoenician. Mendenhall also finds three *t* signs, but these become *zi*, *ti*, *šu* in my system.

Other changes to Mendenhall's scheme were offered, mostly minor, but a significant addition was a trio of *t* signs; Mendenhall (28) had decided that this consonant was not found in the corpus of syllabic texts, even though it was known in the Phoenician alphabet and in Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos. Mendenhall has three *š*-signs (19, Table 3), but I must reject his *ša* and *ši*, and I also hold his *šu* in doubt (see the section on *š* in Colless 1992, 88). It is possible that *š* and *t* were not distinguished in this script (unlike the proto-alphabet and the Phoenician alphabet); in Arabic, for example, both have the tongue-tip behind the lower teeth, as also *ḍ* (but not *ẓ*, which is interdental). A search for instances of *s* standing for *š* has been unsuccessful, but this possibility should be kept in mind. The solution may be that my proposed *tu* is in fact *ša* (see my section on *tu* in Colless 1992, 76-77; also notes on *tu-wu-mu* in D 31 below). The shape of the glyph in C is somewhat different from that in D, and so they may be separate signs. However, it would be difficult to dismiss as a coincidence the recurrence of the sequence *si tu|ša bu ba ta* in C 8 and D 16. The relevant Egyptian hieroglyph appears to be the

determinative for “bind” (V12, a band of string or linen, Gardiner, 523). Opposing a connection with Akkadian *turru* (“band, knot”) is the fact that it is a Sumerian loanword, and only attested in East Semitic. Supporting an association with *ṣrr* (“bind”) is the fact that this root is found with that meaning (among others) in West Semitic and South Semitic but not East Semitic; moreover, it (or a derived noun) lies behind the proto-alphabetic *ṣ* (though here the hieroglyph is V 33, a tied bag, Gardiner, 526; see Colless 1988, 48-49).

Incidentally, the sound *q* is missing from my inventory; I have been unable to identify any *q*-signs (Mendenhall’s *qa* seems to be a variant of *du*); nor can I find examples where *k* stands for *q*.

From this point on I will refer to the language and syllabary of Bronze Age Byblos (*Gubla*) as *Gublaic*, reserving the adjective *Byblian* for the Iron Age language, a distinct dialect of Phoenician (Segert 1976, 27-28).

Interpreting the Gublaic Texts

The next step is to review the Gublaic texts (commencing with the largest, namely D) in the light of these alterations to Mendenhall’s table of signs, and, following the path laid down by Mendenhall, to explore some variant interpretations of problematic words or sequences of syllables. The texts will be interpreted in transcription; for discussion of the forms and variants of the signs see my previous study (Colless 1992). Drawings of the texts will be supplied, adapted from Dunand’s original sketches (Dunand 1945).

One technique will be to assume that the engravers of these inscriptions sometimes erroneously reversed the order of two signs (see notes on D 4, D 8, D 31, D 33, D 36). Mendenhall (38-39) has already identified an example of scribal omission of two syllables in D 2 (as compared with D 23), and so we are justified in expecting that emendations may need to be made to the texts at some points.

Another approach, not taken by Mendenhall, will be to watch for possible cases of the signs functioning as logograms, as the pictographs of the proto-alphabet apparently did (Colless 1990, 5; 1991, 32). For example, *ba-ḥi-ti* in C 2 and 15 may mean “in life”, with the *ḥi* character acting as a logogram for **ḥiwatu*, “life”, and the *ti* as a phonetic complement showing the genitive case ending. In D 32, a produce and harvest context, *ma* may be the *maggālu* (“sickle”) that the sign represents. In D 33 *ḥu* may stand for “new moon (festival)”

or "month". The damaged glyph at the beginning of D 34 appears to be *mitru* ("rain", *ba 'atihu*, "in its season"). In one place I propose, with hesitation, three instances occurring together: *'a(yin)* "eye", *ḥa(ṣiṣu)* "rainstorm", *mu* "water" (see notes on D 19b-21 below). Consider also the possibility of *ṣu(ru'u)* *malaki* as "the arm of the king", in D 34b.

D is the longest text, with forty-one lines, and Mendenhall's interpretation of it seems reasonably coherent (apart from a few questionable points in his translation and commentary, on which scathing critics have focussed attention). His identification of numerous cases of the *figura etymologica* (or cognate accusative construction) gives credence to the values he has assigned to many of the signs. Examples are:

D 13: *mura'a muru'i*, "perpetrator of evil" ("evildoer of evil-doing");

D 32: *sanubi tunibi*, "making the fruit flourish" (root *nwb*);

D 39: *ta ḥa wu bu ma ta ḥu ba m* (see my notes on D 38-39).

Equally convincing is his recognition of *kawana* "be" (A 3, 10; D 7, 15, 21, 27), its variant *kyn* (C 2, 3, 6, 10), and its derivative *kiti* (genitive case of *kittu*) "truth, justice" (D 2, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 40).

Dating the Gublaic Texts

The date of the documents is undetermined, and clear evidence for dating them is lacking. Mendenhall (2-3, 5-7) emphasizes the apparent archaic features of the language, and therefore consigns the texts to the Early Bronze Age, nominating the 24th century B.C.E. as the time of the invention of the syllabic script, and a range of indeterminate dates over several centuries thereafter for the various extant inscriptions.

The two rulers named in the documents (Buhura-Bali in text A, and Ḥuru-Ba'ilu in D) are not known elsewhere. A Byblos king-list compiled by Nina Jidejian (1968, 209-212) has space for them before or after Ibdādī of the 21st century, a contemporary of Amar-Suen of the Third Dynasty of Ur. In the nineteenth century a succession of known kings, beginning with Abishemu I (c.1820-1795) extends to the seventeenth century, covering the period of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties of Egypt. Then there is a gap to the notorious Rib-Addi of the 14th century, mentioned in cuneiform dispatches to Akhenaton (Eighteenth Dynasty). It seems improbable that the two

kings belong in that space, since the language of their documents appears to be older than Ugaritic; but its “archaic” features could be dialect-specific traits, and a sixteenth-century date does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility, given that the sign *hu* in the syllabary seems to be an Egyptian hieroglyph that is not known before the sixteenth century (Colless 1992, 74).

TEXT D (Bronze Tablet)

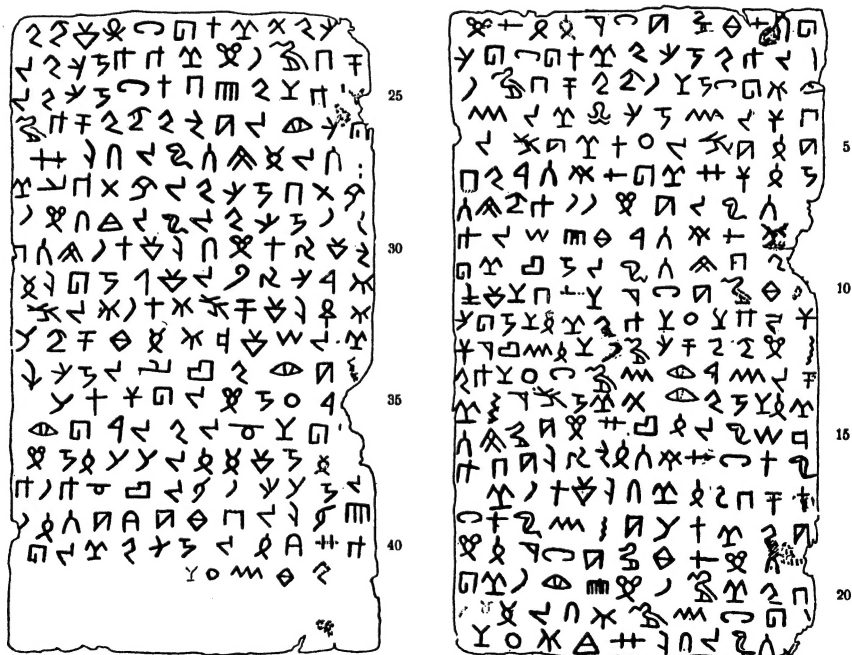
Description: Dunand, 76-78.

This document has forty-one lines of script, reasonably well preserved, but some glyphs were lost when small portions of the metal fell away.

Depiction: Dunand, 77 (drawing); plate X (photographs).

Interpretation: Mendenhall, 32-93.

This appears to be a royal proclamation (Mendenhall, table of contents). A ruler named Huru-Ba’ilu speaks of having brought the “lands” to “truth” and “unity”; a “covenant” has been made.



Obverse

01. *ba* [*w*] *a tu hu ru ba 'i lu 'i 'a tu 'u*
 02. *ni ma ta ti la ki ti ya tu ha 'i (bi du) ha ki*
 03. *'a bi ha 'i la li ni pa ti sa ta ru ni*
 04. *ta hi ma mu la ki hi ya ma mu*
 05. *ba 'i ba nu ma ši tu ya ba nu ma*
 06. *la 'i hi di ya ha tu ti wa ra ti ta (ba?)*
 07. [*ka*] *wa na ma ba 'u ni ni ta pa ka wa*
 08. [*n-?*] *bi tu ti wa ra hu ha ša ma ta*
 09. [*li?*] *ti ta ka wa na ma la hu ya ha*
 10. [*tu*] *hu ru ba 'i lu li tu [ta|ha] li du gu*
 11. *hi [ti] ta li ši li ta ti ya 'i li la ha ki*
 12. *mi 'u pa ti sa ki ru ni li 'i mu hu lu hi*
 13. *sa ma mu ra 'a mu ru 'i ši li ta ti*
 14. *ya 'i li la ti 'a šu ya la nu lu mi ya*
 15. *da ša na ma 'i hu di 'u ba ru ka wa*
 16. *na tu 'i tu ti wa 'i si tu (sa?) bu ba ta ta*
 17. *tu sa ta ru 'i ya 'u bu du tu ni ya*
 18. *ba ti ya tu yi ba mi mu na tu 'i*
 19. [*ti wa*] *'u tu hu ru ba 'i lu 'i 'u*
 20. *ta ti ya ru ni 'u ha 'a ni ya ha*
 21. [*ki*] *ba 'i mu ru (mu ru?) bi 'u ma ('u ma?) 'a*
 22. [*ka?*] *wa na ma 'u bu di zi bi ši li*

Reverse

23. [] *ki ti šu ya tu ha 'i bi du pa ti*
 24. *sa ta ru ni 'u ya ta ta la ki ti ma*
 25. [*li*] *ta li ti ha ta tu 'i la ki ti ma*
 26. *ha ki 'a ma ba si ti pa ti sa ta ru*
 27. [*ni*] *'u ma 'a ka wa na ma 'u bu di*
 28. *za ku ta la ki ti ma za ku ta zu ya*
 29. *ru ni la ki ti ma na ma zi 'u 'u ni*
 30. *si du tu tu 'u 'u bu du tu ni ka wa [ta?]*
 31. *bi ra ki tu wu ma du ga la ha bu 'a*
 32. *bi ta bu du sa nu bi tu ni bi ma nu*
 33. *ya ma ša du da bi 'a hu sa pa yi*
 34. [*mitru*] *ba 'a ti hu zu ma la ki mu*
 35. [] *ra ši la 'u ma ha hi tu yi*
 36. [] *ha li pi ma ti ma ra ha 'a*
 37. [] *'a la du 'a 'i ma yi yi 'i la 'u*
 38. *ma la yi ki ni wu ma hu pi ta ni ta*

39. *ḥa wu bu ma ta ḥu ba m ba wa 'i ni*

40. *ta di m 'i ma la ki ti ya ma ha*

41. [] *ḥu mi ši* []

D 1a *ba [w]a tu ḥu ru ba 'i lu*

"The words of Ḥuru Ba'ilu"

hawatu : "word" or "words", Ugr. *hwt*, Akd. *awatu*, and possibly Hbr. *hwh* (Lubetski 1990); the basic meaning of the word may be "aspiration, breathing out", hence "desire" in Proverbs 10:3, but possibly "outbreathings, utterances" in Psalm 52:4, 9 and 91:3 (cp. Lubetski 1990). Here the noun is in the construct state, and the final *-u* may be a "dead vowel", not pronounced (Mendenhall, 34); it could also be that the vowel was pronounced, with the nominative plural construct state ending *-ū*; in Akkadian (and Ugaritic) the masc. pl. *-ū* was retained in the construct state, though the fem. pl. ending *-ātum* becomes *-āt* in Akkadian, but *-ātu* in Arabic and Ugaritic (Segert 1984, 51).

ḥuru ba'ilu : apparently the name of the king; also found in D 10 and 19; for references to his kingship see D 4 (*mu-la-ki* "of kingship"), and D 34 (*ma-la-ki* "of the king"). For possible meanings of the name, see Mendenhall (34-35); he suggests "pure (or: shining) one of Baal" (root *ḥwr* "be white"), rather than "Horus is Lord (or: Baal)". Nevertheless, it should at least be noted that the Horus name of the first Pharaoh of the second dynasty of Egypt (2700 B.C.E.) was Nebra' (Ra is Lord). For the possibility of Eblaic Baal names on the patterns *ba-la-* (*ba-la*-Divine Name, "Divinity X is Lord") and *-ba-lum*, see Amalia Catagnoti's remarks in Fronzaroli 1988, 251-252. Note also the royal name *Bubura-Bali* in A 10 (Mendenhall, 119, has *-Dali*), possibly meaning "Brilliance of Baal".

D 1b-2a *'i 'a tu 'u|ni ma ta ti la ki ti*

"I have the lands come to me, to the truth."

["I brought the lands into covenant" (Mendenhall, 36)]

'i'atu'uni: the top of the second sign has been broken off, and it is possibly *'a*, which one might expect, but Mendenhall has *'i*, and this may be the correct reading; 1 p. sg. prefomative verb, root *'i* "come" (Hbr. *'ātāh*, Ugr. *'tw*, Bib. Arm. *'i*, Arb. *'i* and *'ty*). Mendenhall (36) gives examples of this verb having an active sense, being used transitively.

The "enclitic *-ni*", which Mendenhall (36, 37) finds "inexpli-

cable", may be a 1 sg. pronom. suffix, dative case (cp. W.G. Lambert, in Cagni 1981, 158-159, citing Akd, Ugr., and Hbr. analogies). Or it may simply have a "ventive" force.

Notice that Mendenhall has here rendered an "imperfect tense" as an English past tense. In translating verbs I will use a neutral or narrative present tense, for the most part, so as not to prejudge the difference between preformative and affirmative conjugations (imperfect and perfect aspects, or present-future and preterite tenses?).

matati : "lands" (**mātāti*), f. pl. acc. case, cp. Akd. *mātu* "land". This word is not necessarily an Akkadianism; it is also attested in Aramaic (including Syriac) at all stages of its history.

la kiti : "to truth", sg. gen. case, after preposition *la* "to"; cp. Akd. *kittu* "truth", "faithfulness", "justice" (cp. Egp. *ma'at*, "truth, justice"). The term also appears below in D 23, 24, 25, 29, 40, in the same form, and preceded by the preposition *la* (though there is a lacuna before it at the beginning of line 23). Mendenhall (70) suggests that although this word is "so crucially important a term in Mesopotamian political ideology", it may actually be West Semitic rather than East Semitic, "brought into Mesopotamia with the Amorite migrations and dynasties". The word *kittu* comes from the root *kwn* "be" (cp. *kawana* in D 6-8 below, and elsewhere); in this document, Mendenhall usually translates it concretely as "(the) covenant", and also suggests "constitution" (Mendenhall, 71).

Mendenhall (38, 40, 44, 142) formulates a rule that the prepositions *l-* "to" (or "from") and *b-* "in" (or "from") generally have:

the vowel *a* before a syllable with *-i* or *-u*,

and the vowel *i* before *-a*.

But note *li-Buhura* in A 10, and Mendenhall's *li-tuhalidu* in D 10, as against *labu* "to him" in D 9 below, but *bihu* in C3. Is the *-u* actually a shewa in the first two cases, and is this related to the Hbr. rule that produces such forms as *litālōt* "to hang"? And is *labu* actually *lābū* (Hbr. *lō*), in accordance with the Hbr. practice of having *lā* before the tone syllable, or with some pronominal suffixes (*lāb* "to her", *lābem* "to them", *lānū* "to us")?

D 2b-3a *ya tu ha 'i {bi du} ha ki | 'a bi ha 'i la li ni*

"They pledge themselves submissively in joining me"

["They have bound themselves by covenant submissively because of my deeds" (Mendenhall, 38)]

yatuba'ibidu: the word is restored by Mendenhall (38) after the

form in line 23 below, where it also occurs with *baki'a*. This apparent error could indicate that the engraver of this text was capable of making other mistakes too (perhaps because he did not understand what he was writing), and consequently emendations may be necessary here and there; but if this is simply haplography (the following *ba* is written instead of *bi*) then the error was made by someone who knew the writing system (whether the original scribe or the engraver, if two people were involved).

Analysis (Mendenhall, 39): prefix *ya*, reflexive infix *tu*, causative infix *ba*, 3 p. m. pl. suffix *-u*, from the root *'bd* "make a covenant, pledge oneself" (OS Arb., and Classical Arb.), connected with Hbr. *'ēdūt* "covenant". The initial *ya* could belong to the preceding word ("my truth" rather than "truth"), but in line 23 it seems to belong to the verb, with a syllable (relative pronoun?) separating it from *ki-ti* "truth". The trouble is that reflexive *t* would be expected after the first radical (Arb., Ugr.), so this form might be a precursor of Phn. and Hbr. *hitqattēl*, impf. *yitqattēl*; cp. *hitakapila* in B 5.

baki'a: Mendenhall (39-40) sees this as a verbal noun, *qatil* type, adverbial accusative case *-a*, from a rare root *bk'*, barely attested in Arabic, meaning "be submissive".

bi ha'ilalini: preposition *bi* "in" (with *-i* before *-a*, apparently according to rule, see above, *la-ki-ti*); 1 p. sg. pronom. suffix *ni* "me"; *ha'ilali*, verbal noun with *ba* preformative, causative (or demonstrative? Mendenhall asks), root *'ll*, which Mendenhall here associates with its Bib. Hbr. use for "the mighty deeds" of God; this leads him to parse the word as a common noun, but he is then perplexed by the suffix *-ni*, instead of the expected *-iya*; but this difficulty is eased if *ha'ilali* is an infinitive. Perhaps the meaning is to be found not in Hbr. *'ll* "act" but in Hbr. and Arm. *'ll* (Ugr. *gll*) "enter", given that *'ayin* and *gayin* are not distinguished in the Gublaic script (nor in the Phoenician alphabet). Bib. Arm. *'ll* is used in Daniel for "enter in" (hap'el "bring in", hup'al "be brought in") to the presence of a king; my translation "in joining me" tries to find a meaning in this analogy, and it is fairly synonymous with the *ba'i banu* "coming in with us" (if that is what the phrase in fact means) in D 5.

D 3b-4a *pa ti sa ta ru ni | ta hi ma mu la ki bi ya*

"And they guard for me the boundary of my empire"

["And you shall guard the ordinance of my kingship" (Mendenhall, 41)]

pa: “and (so)”; *pa* occurs frequently (in texts A, C, D) as a conjunction, meaning “and (so)” (Mendenhall, 41; 164-165, concordance), attested in Ugr., SArb., Class. Arb., and Arm. (but not Akd.) texts; see Watson 1990. Surprisingly *wa* “and” (Ugr., Hbr., Phn., Arb., Arm.) does not seem to occur in the Gublaic inscriptions, but *ma* “and” is found (cp. Akd. enclitic *-ma* “and”). The conjunction *pa-* is usually attached to a verb (see D 3, 7, 12, 23, 26), but (as in Ugaritic, see Segert 1984, 79) it can be joined to nouns also (see A 6, 7, 8, 9).

tisataruni: the root of this verb might be *str* (cp. Hbr., Arm., Arb.) “hide”, “protect”; Mendenhall (41) cites Old SArb. *hstr* “protect”, referring to territory (Biella, 347), and that connotation suits my interpretation, “guard the boundary”; another possibility is *nṣr*, *nṣr*, *nṣr*, basically “keep” (under protection or in mind), as in Arb. (*nṣr*, Biella, 303), and Bib. Arm. *nṣr* (Dan 7:28), but here with causative *sa-* and assimilated *n*, as in Akd. (*nṣr*, von Soden, 756). See also D 23-24 below.

The verb is preformative, but does the *ti* indicate 2 p. pl. (so Mendenhall), with a change from “they” (*ya-*) to “you” (*ti-*)? Arabic *fa* can indicate a change of subject, it should be noted. Certainly Arb. (*ya-* 3, *ta-* 2), Arm. (*y-* 3, *t-* 2) and Akd. (*i-* 3, *ta-* 2) distinguish the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. of verbs in this way, but Hbr. has *ti-* for feminine 3p. and 2p. alike, and Ugaritic has *t-* as the prefix in all four positions of 2nd and 3rd person plural (Segert 1984, 60-61). Assuming the verb is plural, by the Ugr. analogy *tisataruni* could be:

2 f. pl. or 3 f. pl., both with the fem. marker *n*,

or else 2 m. pl. or 3 m. pl. with 1 p. sg. pronom. suffix *-ni*.

The latter is my choice, with a preference for 3rd person, as this seems to run consistently throughout the text.

-ni: “(for) me”, dative case; cp. note on dative *-ni* in line 2a above.

taḥima: “boundary, border, limit”; Akd. *taḥūmu*, Arm. *təḥūmā*, Arb. *taḥm*, *tuḥm*; Mendenhall (42) favours Ugr. *thm* “word, decree”.

mulaki(hi)ya: read *mulakiya* “of my kingship” (or “of my kingdom”, “of my empire”), noun, gen. case with 1 p. sg. pronom. suffix; possibly the last two syllables should be reversed, and *hi* should then be attached to the following syllable (see the next note). Mendenhall (42) compares Arb. *mulk*, Ugr. *mlk* “kingship, dominion”, and Hbr. *malūkāh*; his assertion that this is a *qatal* form is not certain as the *a* of the second syllable could be a “dead vowel”, and the word would then be *mulk* not *mulak*. See also *ma-la-ki* in line 34

below, which could simply be *malki* “of the king”, Ugr. *malku* (*ma-al-ku*, Huehnergard 1987, 147).

D 4b-5 (*hi*) *ma mu* | *ba 'i ba nu ma ši tu ya ba nu ma*
 “those brought in with us, drinking with us.”

[Whoever enters among us, honorably among us ... (Mendenhall, 43)]

(*hi*) *ma mu ba 'i ba nu ma*: This chain of syllables offers numerous possibilities: *banu* “they built”, “in us”, “son” (or *banuma* “sons”). Is *hima* “they” (m.), Ugr. *hm*, cp. Hbr. *hēmmāh*? Or perhaps the *hi* belongs with *ba 'i* (*ba-hi-i*) since the verb is *bh'* and *bw'* in Old South Arabic, and Mendenhall (43) reconstructs this form as *bāhi'i*. Or is it *hima muba'i* “those brought in” (cp. Hbr. *hop'al* participle, *mūbā'īm*, Gen. 43:18, which refers to Joseph’s brothers being brought into his house). Mendenhall (43) adduces Hbr. *bw' b* “enter (into covenant) with” (Joshua 23:7); cp. the English idiom “come in with us”. See also *ba'u* in line 7, *babu'a* in line 32, and *bawa'i* in line 34 below. The idea of being “brought in” goes logically enough with “I bring the lands to me” (root *'t'*) in lines 1-2.

banu: “in/among/with us”, Hbr. *bānū*.

ma: “and”; cp. Akd. enclitic *-ma*. Other possible examples are in D 7, 8, 9, 13, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40.

šituya: Mendenhall (43) has *putuya* (the circle sign understood as *pu* “mouth”), verbal noun (Arb. *futuwwa* “honorableness”), adverbial accusative, forming an exegetical phrase with *banu-ma*, “honorably with us”. The reading *šituya* suggests at least two roots: either *šty/šth* “lay the foundation, start” (Jastrow, 1637), hence “foundationally with us”; or *šty/šth* “drink”, cp. Ugr. *šty(m)*, inf. abs. (Segert 1984, 203), and *'m špš štn*, “drink with the sun”, that is, “make peace with the king” (Gordon 1965, 495).

D 6-7a *la 'i hi di ya ha tu ti wa ra ti ta* | [*ka*] *wa na ma ba 'u ni ni ta*
 “and to unity, that is, (one) fold they become (or: the house becomes), and they come to me (as offspring?)”

[To a unity of the multitude shall become those who enter among us. (Mendenhall, 44)]

la 'ihidi: literally “to unity” (cp. *la kiti* “to truth”, line 2), noun, genitive case after the preposition, and object of the verb *kwn*; the object is placed first for emphasis. On the idea of tribes becoming a unity, cp. Israel (Deut. 33:5); see further Mendenhall, 44-45.

yahatu: "that is". Or possibly the latter half of the previous word (cp. Arb. *'ahadīyatun* "unity"), though the *-ha-* would be hard to explain. Mendenhall (45-46) accepts *yahatu* as a particle, an "appositional marker" ("viz.", "namely"; also in D 9), and as the source of the later indicator of the direct object (Arm. *yat*, Hbr. *'et*, Phn. *'yt*, which may have been originally a noun, "being, substance", Segert 1976, 164).

ṭiwarati: "fold", "sheepfold" (but Mendenhall, 46, has *ṭa* for *ṭi*, and he compares Arb. *ṭawratun* "a great number"); Syr. *ṭayārā* (m.) "sheepfold", "flock", "convent"; Hbr. *ṭîrāb* (f.) "enclosure", "encampment" (with stone wall); Old SArb. *mṭwr* "enclosure" for livestock. For the idea, cp. John 10:16 (Syriac Peshitta): "other sheep", "not of this fold" (*ṭyr*), become "one flock" (*ānā*) under "one shepherd". In this regard note the word *ta'a* "stray" in lines 16, 18, 25 below, a word used of animals "wandering away" (so Mendenhall, 63). See also *ṭiwarā* in line 8.

ta [*ka*]*wana* : root *kwn* "be"; see also D 7b. The *ta* may indicate 3 p. pl. m. (cp. *tisataru* in D 3) but the final *-a* should indicate feminine gender or a volitive mood. Mendenhall (47) says that *kwn l-* is equivalent to Hbr. *hyb l-* "become".

What is the subject of this verb? Does it refer back to the "lands" (*matati*, D 2), fem. pl., even though the other intervening verbs seem to be masculine plural? The subject may be hiding in the sign *ta*, which Dunand (77, fig. 29) saw as apparently closed at the bottom, and therefore a monumental version of *ba*; this may here be an ideogram for house (*baytu*) and be the m. sg. subject of *kawana*: "the house becomes a unity".

ma ba 'u ni ni ta: *ma* is "and"; *ba'u* is presumably 3 p. m. (and f.?) pl. of the verb *bw* "come" (see D 4-5), Hbr. *bā'ū*. Mendenhall (47) has *ba'uni* as a participle, nom. pl., with nondescript *-ni*, and *nita* as pronom. suffix, 1 p. pl., oblique case ("the ones entering among us"). There would seem to be a connection with *ba wa 'i ni ta* of D 39-40; *nita* is reminiscent of Akd. *niāti*, "us", Acc. and Dat. pronom. suffix. For *ninita* we could refer to *niniti* "my daughter" (?) in C 1; cp Hbr. *nîn* "offspring"; hence "they come (as) offspring" (cp. the idea of begetting progeny in D 10-11).

Mendenhall (47) relates what is happening here to the mention of "the tribes of Byblos" (*whyṭ kbṇ*) in the Egyptian "Execration Texts" (Middle Kingdom, 19th-18th cent.); a large social unit is being constructed out of smaller groups (tribes), here under a king, and as

in the formation of a *ben 'ameh* among Bedouin, they become by definition blood relatives (cp. Arb. *ill* "pact; consanguinity", and *'ilila* in D 11 and 14 below). If *ninita* is indeed "progeny", as I have tentatively suggested above, then the king is accepting the people as his own kin, as his children. They constitute a single flock, a united "house", and if this word is not found as a logogram in line 6, as proposed earlier, then it does occur in line 8 as *bitu*.

D 7b-8a *pa ka wa | [n-] bi tu ti wa ra hu ha ša ma*

"and they are the house of the flock *huḫaša*, and ..."

[And the house has become the tribe of *huḫaša*, and ...

(Mendenhall, 48)]

kawana or *kawanu*: the first character of line 8 has been broken off; Mendenhall (48) restores *-na*, producing *kawana*, "the 3 masc. sg. perf. form" of "the copula verb", of which *bitu* ("house"?) is the subject in the nominative case, and *tiwara* ("flock", Mendenhall *tawra*) is the predicate in the accusative case, "in accordance with the rule in classical Arabic". The problem is that *bitu* (*bayitu* > *betu*?) would have to be masculine, "for which one parallel exists" in Hebrew, in Proverbs 2:18, "usually regarded as a textual error" (Mendenhall 48), though the Hbr. word actually "takes a masculine plural", he adds. Note also, by contrast, that Akd. *bītu* ("house") is mostly masc. in the singular, but mostly fem. in the plural (*bītātu*). If the verb was in fact *kawanu* here, then the noun would have to be plural (*bītū* "houses"?): "the houses (families) become the flock". Alternatively, *bitu* may represent the construct state, Akd. *bīt*, Hbr. *bēt*, hence "the house of the flock", and if *kawanu* is accepted the meaning is: "they (the newcomers of line 7) become the house of the flock (named?) *huḫaša*".

tiwara: cp. *tiwarati* in line 6 above. The Ebla texts seem to attest f. sg. nouns in *-a* as well as *-at* (M. Dahood in Cagni 1981, 180), or else they show that "a *-t* ending in the absolute state could either be kept or dropped" (V. Brugnatelli in Fronzaroli 1984, 87). Possibly *-ti* should be restored here, genitive case after *bitu*.

huḫaša: Mendenhall (49) takes this to be "a tribal name", claiming, without documentation, that it occurs in Ugaritic; he suggests that it is an archaic metathesized form from the root *ḫšḫ* "desire" (Akd., Arm.); but the metathesis might simply be a scribal error (cp. *dugala* for *gadula* in line 31?); the Akd. noun *ḫušabḫu*, meaning "need" or "famine" might then be brought into the discussion (cp. the possibi-

lity of similar ideas in line 31). This suggests “a needy flock”, or else “a desired fold”.

D 8b-10a *ta* | [*li*] *ti ta ka wa na ma la hu ya ba* | [*tu*] *hu ru ba 'i lu*
 “and they are dependents of his, namely Huru-Ba’ilu.”

[they shall be for him dependents, namely, for Huru-Ba’ilu.
 (Mendenhall, 49)]

taliti: the obliterated sign at the beginning of line 9 is restored as *li*, cp. *tali* in D 11 and D 25. The root is understood to be *tlw* or *thy* (Hbr. *tlh*, Arm. *tl'*) “hang; depend”; cp. OSArb. *tlw* “follow, be tributary” (Biella, 533-534); Mendenhall (49-50) cites the Mari letter [Syria 19 (1938) 117] where certain numbers of kings are said to “walk after” Hammurapi, Rim-Sin, and the king of Yamkhad. The word *taliti* could be gen. sg. fem. or oblique pl. fem.; Mendenhall (49) sees it as the acc. pl. predicate (“dependents”) of the copula verb *kwn*.

takawana-ma: this could be impf. (preformative) 3 p. fem. sg., or even plural, if *-ā* is a possible 3 fem. pl. ending, as Segert (1984, 60) suggests for Ugaritic. Mendenhall (49) has *bitu* (in 8a) as the subject, but it is not clear whether *bitu* is m. or fem., sg. or pl., absolute or construct state.

lahu: “to him”

yahatu: “namely”, deictic particle, reconstructed here after the example in D 6.

D 10b-11a *li tu* [*ba/ta*] *li du gu* [*hi*] [*ti*] *ta li ši li ta ti ya*
 “for begetting offspring dependent upon my dominion.”

[Verily you shall beget offspring, dependents of my dominion.
 (Mendenhall 50)]

li tubalidu: Mendenhall (50) explains *li* as precative *lu* dissimilated to *li* before the *-u* of *tu*; the verb would be 2 pl. causative (with *ba-*) of *wld/yld* “bear, bring forth (a child)”. Unfortunately neither the *tu* nor the *ba* are clear (cp. Dunand’s drawing, which suggests *tu ta*, and one of these may be a deliberately unfinished character which should be ignored (hence *tulidu*, *halidu*, or even *talidu*). My preference would be for *tulidu*, but whatever the true reading may be, my interpretation is: preposition *li* (“to/for”) with a verbal noun (“to beget” or “for begetting”; cp. OSArb. *tldm* “birth”, and *tldn* as inf. of the verb-stem with prefix *t-*), in the construct state. The final syllable would possibly have a dead vowel.

guḥi [ti?]: “offspring”, Hbr. *gyḥ* or *gwḥ*, “burst forth”, which “has to do almost exclusively with wombs and springs” (Mendenhall, 50). This word is unparalleled, as Mendenhall notes; and the final syllable *-ti* is all but obliterated on the copper plate; but Mendenhall (51) supposes that *guḥiti* is an oblique plural noun (taken to be the object of the finite verb *tuholidu*), the feminine gender indicating “collectivities as abstract entities”; and he seeks an analogy in *taliti* “dependents” (D 8-9). A difficulty is that this word *guḥiti* is immediately followed by *tali* “dependents”, m. pl. oblique, so this would have to be a noun in apposition with *guḥiti*, not an adjective. However, if we accept that the presumed *ti* was obliterated by the engraver as an error for the following *ta* of *tali*, then *tali* (“dependent”) could agree with *guḥi* (“offspring”), both being m. sg. (or m. pl.), genitive case after the preposition *li* and the verbal noun *tuholidu* (or whatever its true form is; see above).

šilitatiya: “my dominion”, noun f. sg., genitive case, with 1 p. sg. pronom. suffix. Mendenhall (51-52) reads *pulitatiya* (“of my dominion”), finding its origin in a root *ply*, which implies establishing ordinances by oracular response (Biella, 404). He notes that there is no root *plt* available; but Hbr. and Ugr. provide *plṭ* with “save” connotations, and Mendenhall (28, cp. 139) hypothesizes that “the velarized *ṭ* did not yet exist” in the Byblian language. In my view, there are in fact *ṭ* signs in this script; but *ṭ* can become *t*, as in the Ugr. case of *ypltn* alongside *yplṭn* (Gordon 1965: 468, No 2048). Nevertheless, my choice for the first sign in the word under review is not *pu* but *ši*. The root would then be *šlṭ* (“rule”, common Semitic; Hbr. *šallīṭ* “ruler”, *šiltōn* “rule”; Arb. *sulṭat*); here with assimilation of *ṭ* to *t* (*šilitat-*).

D 11b-12a *’i li la ha ki | mi ’u*

“They have made the covenant binding.”

[They have made binding the compact. (Mendenhall, 52)]

’ilila : for *’illa* (with dead vowel), Arb. *’ill* “pact; blood relationship”, perhaps cp. Old Babylonian *i’lu* “treaty” (Mendenhall, 52; von Soden, 373; root *e’ēlu* “bind”, von Soden, 189); object of the following verb, hence the accusative case ending *-a*.

hakimi’u: “they make binding”; root *km*? (cp. Akd. *kamū* “bind”), causative 3 pl. perfect (Mendenhall, 53).

D 12b-14a *pa ti sa ki ru ni li 'i mu hu lu hi | sa ma mu ra 'a mu ru 'i ši li ta ti ya*

"And so his peoples shall deliver up to me the whisperer and the doer of evil of my dominion."

[So may his ancestral gods curse the whisperer and the evildoer of evil-doing of my dominion. (Mendenhall, 52, 57)]

tisakiru : reconstructed as *tisakkiru*, D-stem (Mendenhall, 53), "deliver up" or "hand over". This is another case of a 3 p. m. pl. verb with preformative *ti-* (cp. *tisataru*, D 3 above, and D 23-24 and 26 below). Mendenhall's translation "curse" perhaps goes too far; as he realizes, what is meant here is to be "delivered over ... for punishment" (Mendenhall, 53), though not to "the deity" (Mendenhall, 53) but rather to the king, the speaker, *ni* "to me". Hbr. examples of *škr* (pi'el) in this sense are: "I will deliver up the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord" (Isaiah 19:4); "God ... has delivered up the men who raised their hand against ... the king" (2 Samuel 18:28). The closest parallel is in another covenant document, from the Iron Age, namely the Old Aramaic Sefire inscription, 3:1-3 (Gibson 1975, 46-47): the king of Arpad is warned by his suzerain that anyone "who speaks against me ... or who speaks vile (*lhyt*) words ... you must surrender them (*bskr thskrbm*) into my hands".

ni: "to me", dative case; see note on dative *-ni* in line 2a above. The sign is obscure, and Mendenhall (54) reads it as an unfinished *'i*; the engraver, he presumes, made a false start but left it incomplete; he started to write *'i-li-* "god" but quickly realized that *li-'i-mu* was required. However, the simplest explanation is that it is the tusk sign, *ni*, and is the 1 p. pronom. suffix, as in *tisataruni* (D 3, 23-4, 25-26).

li'imuhu : "his peoples", noun nom. pl. with 3 p. sg. m. pronom. suffix (Mendenhall, 54); Ugr. *l'im*, pl. *l'imm*, Hbr. *l'om* (m.), "people"; cp. Proverbs 14: 28: "The majesty of a king is in multitude (*rb*) of people (*'m*), and in lack of people (*l'm*) is the downfall of a prince". Mendenhall (54-57) unnecessarily understands "his peoples" as "his ancestral gods"; rather they are the kinsmen or fellow-countrymen of a rebel against royal authority. Note, however, that the verb and its subject noun could be singular, for in each case we cannot discern whether the final *-u* is long or short (and Eblaic seems to have either *yi-* or *ti-* in the 3 p. sg. impf.; H.-P. Müller, in Cagni 1981, 223-225).

luḥisa : “whisperer”, acc. case sg. (see further Mendenhall, 57, who notes that this looks more like a passive than an active participle), apparently cognate with Hbr. *lḥš*, Akd. *laḥāšū*, Ugr. *lḥš*.

ma: “and” (enclitic); cp. D 5 above.

mura’a muru’i: “perpetrator of evil”, lit. “evil-doer of evil-doing”, two verbal nouns (acc. sg., object of verb, and gen. sg.), root *r’* (though Mendenhall argues for *rh’*, on the basis of *ra-ha-’a* in D 36); see Mendenhall, 58 and 87. Nevertheless, it would be a better solution there to emend *ra-ha-’a* to *ha-ra-’a*, equivalent to Hbr. *hēra’* (hip.) “do evil” (infinitive *hāra’*, participle *mēra’*, pl. *marē’im*), and the two words here would have elision of the causative prefix *ha-*, as in Hebrew.

šilitatiya: see the note on the same word at D 11a above.

D 14b *’i li la ti ’a šu ya la nu*

“Our allies make a covenant”

[The compact they injure, they grumble (Mendenhall, 60)]

’ilila: for *’illa* “covenant”, acc. case, object of the following verb; see note on D 11b above.

ti’ašū: Mendenhall (60) reads *ti’ašū*, and relates it to Arb. *’aša* “act corruptly”. My reading suggests Hbr. *’šb* “make” (replaced by *p’l* in Phoenician); cp. OSArb. *’sy* or *’s* (Biella, 374, 375) “make, construct” alongside *f’l* (Biella, 407). But Arb. *’asā* “be strong” (cp. Biella, 375) might also be invoked, if the sequence *da ša na* in D 14c is connected with Akd. *dašnu* “powerful”. The verb is yet another example of 3 p. m. pl. with preformative *ti-* (cp. *tisataru* in D 3, and *tisakiru* in D 12). However, the syllables could be divided to read “they have made covenants” (*ililati ’ašū*), but only if this noun were feminine.

yalanu: Mendenhall (60) derives this from the root *lwn*; cp. Hbr., nip’al and hip’il, “murmur (against)”; hence “they grumble” (with the m. pl. preformative changing from *ti-* to *ya-* (cp. D 2 and 3 above). This seems reasonable, but Mendenhall (61-62) has difficulty relating this to the rest of the line (D 14c). Could there be a link with Ugr. *yly* “kinsman” or “friend” (Gordon 1965, 411, No 1099), Arb. *wali*? This would go well with *’ubaru* (“friend”?) in D 15b. Is *yalanu* “our allies”?

D 14c-15a *lu mi ya da ša na ma | ’i hu di*

“my power makes the peoples strong” (?)

[or one destroy my strength (Mendenhall, 61)]

How to separate this sequence of syllables into word units is a thorny problem. Mendenhall's translation is built around a verb *ya-da-ša-na* (*yadaššana*), D-stem from the common Semitic root *dš* "thresh", with *-na* as an enclitic particle. Alternatively, he refers it to the root reflected in Akd. *dašnu* (normal Akd. *dannu*) "powerful"; cp. Hbr. *dšn* "be(come) fat", D-stem "make fat". On either interpretation, Mendenhall is confronted by a singular verb without a subject, hence his "one"; but it could be "he", referring to the "whisperer" of D 12-13. The direct object of the verb is taken to be *ma'ihudi* "my strength" (Mendenhall, 62), but this is hardly possible, since "my" requires *-ya* in the accusative and genitive cases; the word would be nominative case, and therefore the subject of the preceding verb: "my strength makes powerful". The object of the verb could then be *lumi* or *lumiya* (though Mendenhall has *lu + mi* as "or, verily"); is this a diminished form of *l'm* "people" (see D 12 above), hence "my strength makes the peoples powerful", with *lumi* as oblique plural? It should be added that Hbr. *dšn* (pi.), which is found in Psalm 23:5 in the sentence "Thou anointest my head with oil", can also mean "bless with rich pastures" (Jastrow, 326), and this idea brings into the picture a third possible root for consideration, namely *dš* ' "be green"; it occurs in Psalm 23:2, "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures". Given the royal shepherd and flock allusions in the document under review (and the concept of "straying", as used of animals, will appear immediately after this), the thought of "providing pasture" merits some consideration here.

ma'ihudi: Mendenhall (62) relates this to Hbr. *mə'ōd* "strength, power" (cp. Akd. *ma'ādu* "be many", Ugr. *mi'd* "much"), here with 1 p. sg. suffix ("my"), or possibly gen. sg. case ending *-i*. Given that the Hbr. word functions more often as an adverb, "very", it is possible that we have here an adjective and a modifying adverb, *daššana ma'ihudi*, "very powerful", cp. Ugr. *z m'id* "very strong" (Gordon 1965, 430, No 1406). The adjective (accusative sg.) would then refer to *'ilila* "covenant".

D 15b-16a 'u ba ru ka wa |na tu 'i tu ti wa 'i si tu bu ba ta

"After straying and wandering about, the outsider becomes compliant"

[A mighty force have become those straying, received, purified (Mendenhall, 62)]

Translation is extremely difficult here (Mendenhall describes his as "a measure of desperation"). Furthermore, in line 16 there are three

signs to which I have tentatively assigned different values: *ti* for Mendenhall's *ta*, *si* for *yu*, and *tu* for *hu*.

'ubarū: Semitic *'br*, as Mendenhall (62) notes, is associated with the meaning "strength, power", hence his translation "a mighty force"; this certainly lines up with the preceding two words, both of which are redolent with "power". However, Old Akd. *ubarū* "friend" (Gelb 1957, 14; but von Soden, 1399, *ubāru* "Ortsfremder; Schutzbürger") goes with the interpretation of *yalanu* (D14b) as "our allies". Mendenhall also notes Ugr. *i'br* and Hbr. *'abbîr* "bull", which suits the animal imagery in this context. The word here, whatever its meaning, could be nom. sg. or pl., but the verb *kawana* would be 3 p. sg. m. It is tempting to divide the syllables thus: *'u baruka wa*, "and blessed and".

kawana: this appears to be another example of the copula verb, which regularly has the nominative case for the subject, and the accusative case for the predicate; here, in Mendenhall's interpretation, the subject and the predicate seem to be reversed. As *kawana* it could be 3 m. sg.; as *kawanā* either 3 m. dual or 3 f. pl.

tu'i: "straying", root *t'* (also in D 18 and 25), Hbr. *t'h* and *t'h*, "err, stray". However, the sequence *na tu 'i* invites a connection with *nṯ'* "plant", changing the metaphor from animal to plant husbandry.

tuṯiwa'i: apparently in apposition to the previous word (Mendenhall, 63-64, but his reading is *tuṯawa'i*, and he compares Ugr. *ṯwy* and Arb. *ṯawa*, "receive as a guest"). The syllable *tu* could be a suffix of *tu'i* or a prefix of *ṯiwa'i*, in either case it would be making a fem. noun; cp. also *ṯiwa'utu* in line 19 below. The root would presumably be *ṯw'*; cp. Hbr. *ṯwb* "spin" (Exodus 35:25f), which Jastrow (522) sees as basically signifying "go to and back"; Arb. *ṯwy* means "fold" or "cross, traverse" or "fast, be hungry" (an idea that could be suitable here, and there may be echoes of it in line 31 below). The resultant meaning of the two verbs becomes "straying, wandering about".

siṯububata: Mendenhall (62-64) has *yuhububuta* ("purified", from *hbb*; its normal meaning of "love" is derived, he suggests, from a basic idea of "holiness"). The same sequence occurs in C 8, though Mendenhall does not make any reference to this fact; but the context is obscure there also. In my reading, the root could be *ṯbb*, OSArb. "proclaim" (Biella, 215); or else *ṯwb* "be good", in which case there is a D-stem here, Akd. *ṯu-ub-bu* "make good" or "satisfy". If the preceding sign is *si*, then *siṯububata* may be a causative doubled form

(šD), cp. Akd. *šutubb-*, “make good”, “make friendly” (von Soden, 1391), hence “tamed” or “compliant”, though a passive form might be expected (cp. Mendenhall’s “purified”, and his *yu-* would certainly have this effect; see Segert 1984, 67, for the passive marker *-u-* in the D-stem, Arb. *yūqattalu*, Hbr. *yəqūttal*).

Another line of speculation involves assigning the value *ša/i/u* to the *ṭi* character (a knot?), and this brings Akd. *ṣabābu* (“flutter about”) into the picture, and the question can then be asked whether *’ubaru* is cognate with Akd. *abru* (Hbr. *’ēber*) “wing”.

Is this word *ṣitububata* the predicate of *kawana* (the *-ta* provides the expected accusative case, feminine because *’ubaru* is “a collectivity”, and “collective/abstract nouns are construed as feminines though formally masculine”, Mendenhall, 65), or is it beginning a new clause?

There are far too many variables here, prohibiting a convincing solution. Are we in the presence of hungry, straying animals, perhaps bulls who have been satisfied or tamed by being brought into the fold by the herdsman, the suzerain, whose name will recur in line 19?

D 16b-17 *ta | tu sa ta ru ’i ya ’u bu du tu ni ya*

[Those who place themselves under my protection, they are my servitors (Mendenhall, 66)]

Notice that D 16-20 has parallels with C 7-9: the root *’bd*, *ṣitububata*, *batiya*, and *yaruni* or *tiruni*.

tatusataru: 3 p. pl. m. preformative, with reflexive infix *-tu-*, root *str* (cp. *tisataru* in D 3 and D 24), “hide”, “protect”.

’iya: Mendenhall (67) relates this particle to Arb. *’iy* “yea”. Could it be that *’i* functions here as a logogram, “breast”?

’u bu du tu ni ya: cp. D 30b below?

D 18-19a *ba ti ya tu yi ba mi mu na tu ’i | [ṭi wa]’u tu ḥu ru ba ’i lu*

bati: “my daughter”? Mendenhall (32 and 67) has *tati*, though the *ba* seems clear enough.

yatu: cp. *yabatu* (D 6 above)?

yibami: “my brother-in-law”? Hbr. *yābām* “brother-in-law”, *ybm* (D) “procreate” (in a levirate marriage), Arb. *wabama* “procreate” (Segert 1984, 187).

tu’i: “straying”, as in D 16 above and D 25?. However, *munatu’i* might be a participle.

ṭiwa’utu: “wandering”, cp. D 16? The first two characters are

indistinct but reasonably certain (Mendenhall, 68). Mendenhall senses a construct chain, but he wonders why this word has the nominative case; perhaps the final syllable has a dead vowel, and is in the construct state with no case ending (cp. *litulidu guḥiti* in D 10-11, where genitive *-di* might have been expected).

ḥuru ba'ilu : the royal name, as in D 1, where it can be seen that it does not take case inflexions; unless the *'i* that follows it here, and there, is a genitive ending.

D 19b-21a *'i 'u | ta ti ya ru ni 'u ḥa 'a ni ya ba | ki ba 'i mu ru bi 'u ma 'i'utati*: Mendenhall (68) states that this could be from the root *'t* "come", as in D 1, *'i'itu'u* (or *'i'atu'u*, "I bring"), but here with elision of the weak third consonant, and apparently having both preformative and affirmative characteristics (like the form *'ibašati* in the Amarna letters). Note that the *ta* sign is not clear. The *'i* (here and possibly also in D 1) might be a particle of affirmation (cp. Arb. *'i*, which introduces an oath, and Ugr. *'i*, Segert 1984, 178; Akd. *i* is used with 1 pl. cohortative, "let us ..."; cp C 3, where *'i* precedes a 1 p. sg. verb, *'i 'akayinama*).

ya ru ni: Mendenhall (68) sees this as a transitive verb, perhaps from *wry* "lead", and he compares *yaruni la kiti* in D 28-29. Other ideas are: *run* "rejoice"; or *yr* "fear", with elision of the *'aleph*, as suggested for the previous word, with pronom. suffix *-ni* "me", hence "they fear me".

'uḥa: "brother", acc. case sg., Ugr. *'uḥ* (Mendenhall, 68).

'aniya: "humble, submissive"? (Mendenhall, 68), cp. Hbr. *'ānī* "lowly".

These three words might thus produce: "they respect me as a humble brother (or: brotherhood)".

ḥaki: a particle, "thus"? (Mendenhall, 69). Or is it a defective writing of *ḥaki'a*, as in D 2-3 and D 26, where Mendenhall translates it as "submissively" or "devotedly"; this would follow on aptly from the preceding word "humble".

ḥa 'i mu ru bi 'u ma: Mendenhall (69) constructs from this sequence a hendiadys: "they live long (*ḥa'muru*), they seek (*bi'u-ma*)"; that is, "they seek prolongation of life".

A different solution can be found, perhaps, by accepting some of the syllabic signs as logograms: *'a* as *'ayin* ("eye" or "spring"), *ḥa* as *ḥazizū* "rainstorm", *mu* as "water". As for *'imuru*, if we accept that a second *mu ru* has fallen by haplography, a connection could be found

with Arb. *ġmr* “be abundant” (of water), “inundate”, here with a causative *ba*-prefix. The result could be:

“I bring (*i’utati*) the early rains (*yarumi*, Hbr. *yōreh*) and (*’u*) the rainstorm (*HA*) of my eyes (*’A-niya*), thus (*baki*) bringing abundance (*ba’imuru*) and (*-ma*) fructifying (*rubi’u*, Hbr. *rb’*, Jastrow, 1444) waters (*MU* or *mu*)”.

This interpretation (which is highly suspect) invites us to suppose that the god Baal is the subject of this sentence, or of the whole text, and that the sequence *yama* in D 4 and D 33 refers to Baal’s enemy *Yam* (“Sea”). However, the provision of rain and fertility was also the responsibility of a king, and in D 31-34 there seems to be an allusion to his part in providing “rain in its season” and producing a “harvest”.

D 21b-23a *’u ma ’a* | [*ka*] *wa na ma ’u bu di zi bi ši li* | [] *ki ti šu ya tu ba ’i hi du*

“And I establish as obligors the people who are under the dominion of the truth to which they pledge themselves”

[I make them my servants who (are) in the dominion of the covenant to which they bound themselves by oath (Mendenhall, 69)]

The sequence of the first ten signs recurs in D 27. Mendenhall (69) sees them as the copula verb *’akawana* with a predicate in the accusative case, namely *’ubudi*, a collective plural and an ancestor of one type of “broken plural” of Arabic. But the verb would need to be causative here (D-stem, cp. Arb. *kwn* II, “make, create, bring into being”).

’uma: “people”, as apparently in D 27?

’ubudi: Mendenhall assumes, without comment, that this is from the root *’bd* “serve”, hence “my servants”, or rather “servants”, since oblique cases, singular and plural, require *-ya* for “my” (Gordon 1965, 36). My rendering, “obligors” (those bound to another by contract, or giving bond) reflects the possibility that the root is *’bt* “pledge” (cp. *yatuba’ihidu* as “they pledge themselves” in line 23); Akd. *ubbutu* “ein Schuldgebundener?” (von Soden, 1400) would then be the cognate form for analogy, but the problem would be the *-d*- instead of *-t*- (but cp. *šaduda*, possibly for *šadutta* in D 33).

zi: Mendenhall (70) has *zi*, common Semitic relative particle *z* or *š*, but he recognizes the possibility of it being *d* or *z*, and he parses it as “a relative pronoun in the oblique plural”, “in agreement with the case/number of the preceding noun”. It possibly reappears in line 29b; cp. the rel. pronoun *šu* in line 23, and *zu* in line 28b.

bi šili []: the missing syllable is the first sign on the rear side of the plate; Mendenhall (70) has *bi-puli* [*tī*], on the analogy of his *pulitati* in lines 11 and 13. If, however, it is the root *šl* there, then my restored reading here would have to be *bi-šili* [*tī*], “in the dominion”. Other faint possibilities are Hbr. *šelet* “a shield”, or *ŠI* as an ideogram for “the Sun”, meaning “the king” (cp. Ugr. *špš* “Sun” as a title for the Hittite or Egyptian emperor), or perhaps “Shamash” (the god of justice and truth). If Mendenhall’s rule is valid, that the prepositions *l/b* are *li/bi* before *-a* and *la/ba* before *-i* or *-u* (see above, the note on *la-kitti* in D 2a), then my reading *bi šili* is suspect, but so is his *bi puli*. If *bi šili* is the complete phrase (given that the scribe could probably have fitted the final sign at the end of the line) then *bi šili* might mean “with tribute” or “under tribute” (OSArb. *sl* “tribute”, root *sl* “pay, offer as tribute”, Hbr. *sl* (pu’al) “be paid”; cp. *šila* in D 35?). The idea of paying tribute would fit in with “tithing” in line 29 and “paying dues” (*bupita*) in 38.

kiti: presumably for *kitti*; see the note on *la-ki-ti* in D 2a above; the missing sign could be *la* “to”, as there, but this would be hard to fit into the syntax here.

šu: Mendenhall (70) has *tu*, “taken to be the ancestor of later *ša/še*”, a conjunction rather than a relative pronoun (cp. *zi* in D 22), though Hbr. *ša/še* can introduce a relative clause.

yatuba’ihidu: as in D 2 above.

D 23b-24 *pa ti | sa ta ru ni ’u ya ta ta la ki ti ma*

“And they observe for me the sign for truth, and”

[And so, you shall observe the obligations faithfully (Mendenhall, 71)]

pa: consequential conjunction, “and so” (cp. line 3).

tisataru-ni: as in D 3b, where I take it to mean “guard the boundary” (Mendenhall: “guard the ordinance”); Mendenhall (71) allows that this could be 3rd person plural, “in view of the frequent *t-* 3 pl. preformatives that occur in this and other West Semitic texts”.

ni: dative pronom. suffix, “for me”; cp. D 2-3; Mendenhall (71) again finds “no observable function” for it.

’uyatata: Mendenhall (71-72) derives this from a root *’yt*, cp. Arb. *’ayat*, Hbr. *’ōt*, “sign, mark”, and he sees it as either a collective noun or a “broken plural” form; his proposed “generalized translation” is “obligations”. The Hbr. term “sign” is found in covenant contexts

as “a reminder of duty”: Genesis 9:12 (rainbow), 17:11 (circumcision), Exodus 31:13 (sabbath).

la-kiti-ma: for *la-kitti-ma*, “for truth, and”, cp. D 2; Mendenhall (72) “faithfully” or “in accordance with the covenant”.

D 25 [*li*] *ta li ti ḥa ta tu 'i la ki ti ma*

“to be following after instead of straying from truth, and”

[to be dependent instead of straying from the covenant (Mendenhall, 72)]

li: this first sign in line 25 is faint but fairly certain; preposition “to”.

tali: infinitive in gen. case after preposition *li*; root *tlw* “hang” (Hbr. *tlh*) or “follow” (Arb.), hence “be dependent” (which comes from Latin *pendere* “hang”).

tiḥata: “instead of”, Arb. *taḥta* “under”, Hbr. *taḥat* “under, instead of”.

tu'i: infinitive in gen. case after preposition *tiḥata*; root *ta'a*, Hbr. *t'h* (and *t'h*) “err, stray” (cp. Isaiah 53:6, “we, like sheep, have all strayed”); apparently also found in D 16 and 18.

la: here “from” rather than “to”; or perhaps “with regard to”.

kiti: *kitti*, gen. case after the preposition *la*; “truth” (see notes on D 2, and cp. D24).

D 26a *ba ki 'a ma ba si ti*

“submissively and with restraint”

[devotedly with respect to my houses (Mendenhall, 73)]

baki'a: “submissively”, adverbial accusative, as in D 2-3.

basiti: Mendenhall (73) has *bayuti* “my houses”; he supposes that the enclitic *-ma* is “a weak connective” between the two words; but it could also suggest that another adverbial expression is following it, presumably the preposition *ba* with a noun in the genitive case, *ba-siti*. Possible cognates for consideration are: Hbr. *śā'ēt* (root *ns'* “raise”), meaning “dignity?” or “excellence?”; Akd. *šittu* “sleep” and “remainder”, both unsuitable; Akd. *šītu*, apparently meaning “bridle” (“Zügel”, von Soden, 1253), hence my suggestion “restraint”.

D 26b-27 *pa ti sa ta ru | [n] 'u ma 'a ka wa na ma 'u bu di*

“And they protect for me the people I establish as obligors”

[And so, you shall protect the populace I have made my servants (Mendenhall, 74)]

pa-tisataru-ni: see notes on D 3b and D23b-24.

'uma 'akawana-ma 'ubudi: see notes on D 21b-22, where the same words are found; here the normal relative pronoun has been omitted, as in the two English translations offered above.

D 28a *za ku ta la ki ti ma*

“pure with respect to truth, and”

[pure with respect to the covenant, and (Mendenhall, 74)]

zakuta: Mendenhall (74-75) has *zūkuta* (but see notes on *za* and *zu* in Colless 1992, 70-72); root *d/zky* “be pure, clean”; cp. Akd. adj. *zakû*, fem. *zakûtu*, “pure, clean, clear, innocent”; acc. case, fem., sg., agreeing with *'uma* “people” (presumably fem.) in D 27.

D 28b-29a *za ku ta zu ya ru ni la ki ti*

“pure, who revere me with regard to truth”

[pure, who are guided by covenant (Mendenhall, 75)]

zakuta: as in D 28a.

zu: Mendenhall (75) has *du*, without comment, but he obviously understands it as a relative pronoun, “who”; cp. Hbr. *zû*, introducing relative clauses (Exodus 15:13, 16, in both cases objects of verbs).

ya ru ni: Mendenhall (75) analyses this as *yaru + ni*, impf. 3 pl. from the root *wry*, “guide, direct”, and “an intransitive stative usage of the Qal form”; when confronted with the same sequence in D 20, Mendenhall could not offer a translation. If *yaru* is in fact a verb here, then *-ni* is a pronom. suffix, “me”; or else it marks the subjunctive in this relative clause, as in Assyrian.

D 29b *ma na ma zi 'u 'u ni*

“whatever they tithe to me”

[Those who follow me (Mendenhall, 76)]

manama: Mendenhall (77), “whoever” (nom. pl.?). or is it “whatever” (acc. sg., cp. Ugr., Phn. *mnm* “whatever”)? Or is it “and the mina” (= 50 shekels, Hbr. *māneh*)? Or “and the portion” (Hbr. *mānā*)?

zi 'u 'u ni: Mendenhall (76-77) has *zī'u'u + ni* “follow me” (root meaning “look to”). If *zi* is a relative pronoun, the verb would then be *'u'u*; this could conceivably be an ideogram, “tithe” (*uṣr*), with *'u* added to show the verb suffix (3 plural?); *-ni* would be dative case:

“whatever they tithe to me”. For the verb *šr* “tithe”, cp. Hbr. *šr* (piʿel) “give/receive a tenth”, OSArb. *šr* (D?) “pay a tithe” (Biella, 386), Arb. *ʿašara* “collect a tithe”

D 30a *si du tu tu ʿu*

[*yuduḥu tuʿu* they submit, they are marked (Mendenhall, 77)]

My choice of values for the signs has produced a problematic sequence. In line with the apparent agricultural context of D 31-33, a few interpretative suggestions may be made.

sidu(du): possibly the *du* sign can be read as *dudu* (though not in its meaning “jar”), but in any case there might be a connection with Hbr. *šdd* “harrow” (“furrow”?); or Akd. *šadādu* “draw (a measuring line), measure”; or Ugr. and Phn. *šd* “field”, Hbr. *šādeh*.

tu tu ʿu: for *tuʿu* Mendenhall (78) tries “marked with a *tan*”; Hbr. *tʿh* seems to mean “mark out (a boundary)”, cp. the idea of measuring fields, proposed for the previous word. Or there may be a link with Akd. *tātu*, *taʿtu*, “toll” or “thank-offering (to a king or god)”, though this is possibly derived from *taʿa* (von Soden, 1382). This would go with the idea of “tithing” proposed at the end of line 29. There is also the possibility that *tu* is *ša*, and *šatu* could be a derivative of *y/wš* “go out” (cp. Akd. *šātu* “distant time”, von Soden, 1096b).

D 30b *ʿu bu du tu ni ka wa []*

[Serving of me has become ... (Mendenhall, 78)]

ʿubudutu-ni: Mendenhall (78) finds here an abstract fem. verbal noun with the objective 1 sg. suffix, “serving of me”, though in D 17 he has “my servitors”. The possible connection I suggested between *ʿubudi* and Akd. *ubbuṭu* “obligor”, in lines 22 and 27, seems difficult to sustain here.

kawa []: the last sign is obscured, but it may be *ta* with the left side broken off; once again, as in D 7-8, the last member of the copula verb *kwn* has been lost; here Mendenhall (78) posits 3 f. sg. perf., with *n* assimilated to *t*, *kawatt*.

D 31a *bi ra ki tu wu ma du ga la*

“in weakness, great hunger (or: fasting)”

[blessings, life greatly (Mendenhall, 78)]

biraki: “blessings”? (Mendenhall, 78), acc. pl., object of the copula verb; cp. Phn. *brkt*, Hbr. *brkh*, “blessing”. This interpretation is

certainly compelling, since a covenant document will normally list the blessings and curses ensuing from fidelity or infidelity (see D 32-34 and D 37 below, and cp. Deuteronomy 28).

Or is *bi* the preposition “in”, and *raki* its noun? Arb. *raqqa* means “be thin” and also connotes “enslave”, and so *riqq* is “slavery”; Arb. *rakka* (Hbr. *rkk*) means “be tender, weak”; thus, “in slavery” or “in weakness”?

tu wu ma : Mendenhall (78) has *huwu-ma*, “and life”. Is *ma* “and”? or the last syllable of a noun *tuwuma*? Arb. *ṭawiya* “be hungry, starve”, and *ṭawa(n)* “hunger” might go with “weakness”; or is it *ṣawuma* “fasting” (cp. Arb. and Hbr.)? (See my section on *tu* in Colless 1992, 36.)

dugala : read *gadula* “great” (Hbr. *gādōl*); Mendenhall (79) speaks of metathesis, but a simple scribal error seems a preferable explanation.

D 31b-32 *ba bu 'a | bi ṭa bu du sa nu bi tu ni bi ma nu*

“Our sickle brings in (harvest) in the good work of fructifying fruit”

[He who enters into the work of making flourish the fruit (of the land). Whoever ... (Mendenhall, 79)]

habu'a: for Mendenhall (79) this is a passive verbal noun (root *bw'* “come”) with the causative prefix *ba-*, “the one brought in (to work the land)”; but cp. *muba'i* as passive causative in D 4-5 above; he also tries *ba-* as a demonstrative particle. However, the form might be equivalent to Hbr. *hēbī* (hip.) “bring in”, used in 2 Samuel 9:10 for “bring in produce” (with the object understood, as also proposed here). That same context uses *'bd* in two senses, namely “till (land)” and “serve”, and the possibility that “tilling” is involved in *'ubudutu* in line 30b merits consideration. If *habu'a* is a finite verb, then what is its subject? Is it “he” (cp. Mendenhall’s “he who”), or “whoever” (cp. Mendenhall’s rendering of *manu*), or something else? See the note on *manu*.

bi: preposition “in”.

ṭabudu: possibly for *ṭābtu* “good deed of” (in construct chain); cp. Akd. *ṭābtu* “good deed” or “blessing” (von Soden, 1377); and Hbr. *ṭōbāh* “good”, “good thing”; or Akd. *ṭābūtu* or *ṭābuttu* (with *d* here representing *tt*, cp. *šaduda* for *šadutta* in D 33; cp. also *ṭabudu* in C 11). Mendenhall (80) reads the *ṭa* sign (which I relate to *ṭābu* “good”) as *ma'*, hence *ma'bd* “work” (but see Colless 1992, 75).

sanubi tunibi: Mendenhall (81) plausibly derives both words from

nwb “be fruitful”; both have the genitive case ending, in a construct chain, and following the preposition *bi*; for the noun *tunibi* cp. Hbr. *tanūbāb* “fruit, produce” (Mendenhall, 81); *sanubi* would be the *s*-causative verbal noun, “making fruitful” (Mendenhall, 81).

The surprising thing is to find *ba-* and *sa-* causatives in the same sentence (*habu’a* and *sanubi*); normally a Semitic language will choose one or the other: Akd *ša*, Ugr. *ša*, Hbr. *bi*, OSArb. languages either *š* or *b* (but not both in a particular language), Arb. *’a* ; but Biblical Aramaic has *ba* and *ša*, and Syriac has *’a* and *ša* (Muraoka 1987, 27).

This is “another example of the *figura etymologica* that is so loved in this dialect” (Mendenhall, 81); cp. the cognate accusative *taḥawubu ma taḥubam* in D 38-39 below. The cognate accusative construction is also “particularly common” in Sabaic; for example *fr’ fr’* “first fruits (which) he offered” (Beeston, 18).

ma-nu: one possibility is to read *ma* as a logogram, *magalu* “sickle”, with *nu* as “our” (Hbr. *-nū*, Arb. *-nā*, Akd. *-ni*), hence “our sickle”, being the subject of the verb that appears at the beginning of the sentence, *habu’a* “brings in (the harvest)”. Note that the *nu* sign occurs twice in this line, and represents a bee, *nūbtu*. Could this too be a logogram in either position? Incidentally, is it connected with the root *nwb*, “be fruitful” (as in *sanubi*), and if so did the ancients know the fertilizing role of the bee?

D 33 *ya ma ša du da bi ’a ḥu sa pa yi*

“on the day (of) harvest in the month of ingathering”

[has acted violently against the Aḥusapay (Mendenhall, 81)]

ya ma: possibly a noun, *yām* “day” (accusative singular? adverbial accusative, “on the day?”); or *ya* could be connected to the preceding *-nu* “our” (pl.) to make *-nuya* “our” (dual, cp. Ugr. *-ny*), and *-ma* would be “and”; but who would the two sickle-wielding parties be in this duo?

šaduda: “harvest”, “income”, cp. Akd. *šaduttu*, which appears as *šaduta* in A 5, and cp. *šaduda* in C 12. Mendenhall (81-82) parses it as a verb, root *šdd* (Hbr. “destroy”, Arb. *šadda* “attack”).

bi: “in”, or “against” (Mendenhall), designating the object of the violence, namely “the Aḥusapay” (cp. the name *’āḥashbay* in 2 Samuel 23:34). This all seems plausible, but there is another possibility.

ḥu ’asapayi: “the month of ingathering”; this reading is obtained by reversing the positions of the first two characters in the sequence; *ḥu* (Egp. hieroglyph N9, “new-moon festival”) is taken as a logogram

for West Semitic **ḥudšu* “new moon (feast)” , Hbr. *ḥōdeš*; Ugr. *ḥdš*, (as a personal name transcribed in Babylonian cuneiform as *ḥudašī*, Huehnergard, 231; cp. *bym ḥdš* /bi yāmi ḥudti/ “on the day of the new moon”, Segert 1984, 129). Hbr. *ḥōdeš* can mean “month” (alongside *yeraḥ*, both found in 1 Kings 6:38), and that meaning has been chosen here, though “new moon feast” remains a distinct possibility. The term “month of ingathering” could be compared with the *yrbw šp* “months of (vintage and olive) harvest” (Gezer “calendar”, Gibson 1971, 2-3). The root *šp* (Akd., Hbr., Phn., Arm.) means “gather, harvest”; cp. Hbr. *ʾāšip* and *ʾāsip* “ingathering” (Exodus 23:16, with the verb and the noun, and 34:22), referring to the feast of ingathering, that is, Booths (Sukkot), “which is the end of the year”. The ending *ayi* on *ʾasapayi* is perhaps a problem, as there is no *y* in the root; Mendenhall (82) has it as “the gentilic ending”, in line with his idea that it is a name of a tribe (or a place, cp. Sinay). Possibly *yi* is a logogram for “right hand” (*yimnu*), and it is the subject of a verb *ʾasapa*, “the right hand has gathered in”, but Semitic words for “hand” are normally feminine, and this verb would be masculine (3rd sg.); the 3rd sg. fem. requires a *t*, initial or final; cp. Ugr. Aqhat 19:66-67, *ʾur tʾispk yd ʾaqht ḡxr, tštk bqrbm ʾasm*, “Herb, may the hand of the hero Aqhat gather you in, put you within the granary”.

D 34a [*miṭru*] *ba ʾa ti hu* “[rain] in its season”

[I will assail him (Mendenhall, 83)]

Mendenhall restores *ʾi* as the missing sign at the beginning of line 34, and invokes the Old SArb. root *bʾy* “attack”, hence his *ʾibaʾat-hu* “I will assail him”; but he has difficulty explaining the *t*, and so Hbr. *bʾt* (piʿel “terrify”) might be a better choice. But if *ba* is the preposition “in”, then *ʾati* is a noun (gen. case) and *-hu* is a pronoun (suffix); cp. Hbr. *bāʾittō* “in its season” (Deuteronomy 11:14 and Jeremiah 5:24, both referring to timely rain which ensures good harvest). Could the damaged sign be the word for “rain”? Above the hole there seems to be the top wave of a vertical “water” sign, as in D 12, 14, 18, which functions as the syllable *mi* in text D, and which seems to represent *miṭru* “rain”. This could be a logogram here; but the suffix *-hu* (“his”) indicates that it would be a masculine noun, as in Aramaic and Syriac (cp. also Arb. *maṭar* “rain”), not feminine (Hbr. *māṭār*, pl. *miṭrōt*, cp. Ugr. *mṭr*, pl. *mṭrt*, and Arb. *maṭra* “rain shower”, pl. *-āt*). The “rain in its season” would be a blessing of the

covenant, as in Deut. 29:12, where God gives “the rain (*māṭār*) of your land in its season (*bə’ittō*)”.

The *a* vowels in *ba* and *’ati* require comment: firstly, *ba* should be *bi* before *-a*, if Mendenhall’s proposed law (142) is true; but perhaps the guttural has an influence here, and there are other apparent exceptions too (see notes on *la-kiti* in D 2a above); secondly, the Hbr. form of **’at* is *’ēt* and *’itt-*, but this is not a grave problem. For a Phn. use of *’t* “season”, cp. *b’t qsr* “at the time of harvest”, in the Karatepe inscriptions (Gibson 1982, 50).

D 34b-35a *zu ma la ki mu | [] ra ši la*

“The arm of the king ... tribute”

[Who of my reign is made hostile, alienated, (Mendenhall, 84)]

zu: Mendenhall (84) reads *du*, “the one of”. Alternatively, it could be a pictograph representing *zurru* “arm”.

malaki: Mendenhall (84) has this as *malākī*, “of ruling”, infinitive absolute, genitive case, to produce “Who of my reign” (though genitive “my” would require *-ya*). However, it could simply be the word for “king” (Hbr. *melek*, *malk-*, pl. *mālākīm*, Arb. *malik*, Akd. *malku* or *maliku*, and Ugr. *malku*), hence “of the king” (possibly with a dead vowel in the syllable *la*) or else “of the kings”. My tentative interpretation is “the arm of the king”.

mu: Mendenhall (84) mistakenly reads this sign as *ši*, partly because *mu* is already found in text D as a horizontal water-sign; and he concocts a verb *ši [r]ra* (“is made hostile”) from the root *šrr* “be an enemy”. The sign in question occurs in text C (6, 10, and possibly 14), apparently as *mu*, but conceivably as a logogram or determinative sign for “king” (cp. Eg. hieroglyph M23). If the sign has a determinative function here, then it is not translatable; if it represents *mu*, then it is the beginning of a new word. If the scribe of text D can use two different (though related) signs for *ru* (see *yaruni* in D 20 and D 28-29), then he could also have two different (though unrelated) signs for *mu*.

mu [] ra : perhaps read *murara* “accursed”, or some other form from the root *’rr* “curse”, in view of the fact that other maledictory words appear in line 37. It might even be a noun, *mu’ira* “curse”, Hbr. *mā’erāh* (Deut. 28:20).

ši la: Mendenhall (85) has *pula* for my *ši la*. This could be “who not”, or possibly “tribute” (OSArb. *šl* “tribute”; see notes on *šili* in D 22).

D 35b-36a *'u ma ha hi tu yi | [ma?] ha li pi*

[whether causing to destroy [and?] causing to smite (Mendenhall, 86)]

This sequence is explained by Mendenhall as *'u* ("either/or") with enclitic *ma*, and two causative (*ba-*) verbal nouns, roots *hty* "smite" or "fear", and *lp* "beat". The *'u-ma* could also be "and indeed", as in Eblaic and Hebrew (see Gordon 1987, 29-41); or "mother" (accusative case⁴). The sign *hi* could stand for "life", and *yi* for "right hand", it should be noted. There is a space at the end of line 35, perhaps indicating the end of a word or sentence; or else the next sign was simply too wide to fit here, and *nu* (bee) is a possibility; "our right hand" then suggests itself (cp. "our sickle" in D 32, and "the arm of the king" in D 34b.)

D 36b *ma ti ma ra ha 'a*

[whenever he has done evil (Mendenhall, 87)]

ma ti ma: Mendenhall (87) postulates a conjunction, "when", though it should be interrogative, rather than meaning "whenever". Or is it "death" (Ugr. *mt*, Hbr. *mōt*), or, with difficulty, "dead" (Hbr. *mēt*, Akd. *mītu*)? And is *li pi mati* "to the mouth of Death", referring to the devouring mouth (*p*) of the god Mot, in which living beings are "carried away" (*ht*), in the Baal myth (4.8.16-19; Gibson 1978, 67)? Or perhaps *halipi mati* means "beating to death".

ra ha 'a: perhaps read *hara'a*, "he has done evil". Mendenhall (87) notes that the medial *h* is surprising, and suggests it changed to *w*, and this eventually fell away to yield Hbr. *ra'* "was evil". However, the simple expedient of reversing the first two signs (as was done in lines 4, 8, 31, and 33) produces *hara'a*: (1) this fits into the supposed succession of verbs prefixed with *ha* in lines 35-36; (2) more importantly, it corresponds to Hbr. *hēra'* (hip. of the *r'* that Mendenhall dismisses as a grammarians' figment), meaning "do evil", not "be evil"; (3) and there is no medial *h* in the two words from the same root in D 13, namely *mura'a muru'i*, in which the *ha*-prefix has been elided, as in Hebrew.

D 37a [*ma*] *'a la du 'a 'i ma yi yi 'i la*

[with the curse of sickness he shall be cursed (Mendenhall, 87)]

Mendenhall's interpretation is attractive; if this is a kind of covenant document, then blessings and cursings should find a place in it, and here is the expected curse (cp. the possibility that another maledictory term occurs as *mu* [] *ra* in D 34-35 above.

[*ma*]'*ala*: "curse", cp. Hbr. *ta'lāh* (Lamentations 3:65 only) "curse"; indeed, the obliterated sign may have been *ta*, as Mendenhall intimates. The corresponding Hbr. root is 'lh "swear", and the Hbr. noun 'ālāh (pl. 'ālōt) "curse" is used in covenant contexts (Deuteronomy 29:11, 13, 18); this could be the very word we have here, either with the *t* ending omitted (by the principle mentioned in the note on *ṭiwara* in D 8a above), or the following *du* stands for the ending -*tu* (but this seems to be the beginning of a new word).

yīyī'ila: "he shall be cursed" or "may he be cursed"; Mendenhall (87-88) parses this as "the impf. optative/precative" (indicated by the ending -*a*) "of the D-stem", from a root *y'l* ("bind"); he argues that [*ma*]'*ala* comes from this same root, and so this is another example of the *figura etymologica*, with the noun's case here being "accusative of specification". The passive meaning, he avers, is not in the form, but in the cognate accusative construction.

du'a'i-ma: Mendenhall (87-88) renders this as "of sickness", genitive singular, with enclitic -*ma* (again, apparently, with "no semantic function"); the root *d'* would be an archaic version of *dwy* "be sick" (Hbr., Ugr., Arm., Arb.). This view is appealing but difficult to accept. The Canaanite word *dwt* ("illness") is attested in the Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions (01 = 376; Colless 1990, 12); cp. Hbr. *dwth*, "her indisposition" (Leviticus 12:2). For sickness as a covenant curse, see Deut. 28:58-61.

Note that in line 40 Mendenhall (92) treats the sequence 'ima as "if", or "verily", but not here. If it is a conjunction here, then the word for consideration is simply *du'a* (cp. Ugr., Hbr., Arb. *d'y*, "fly, swoop, pounce"?).

D 37b-38 'u |*ma la yi ki ni wu ma hu pi ta ni ta*

"or he does not persevere in fulfilling the obligations to me"

[or whether he does not do uprightly, fulfilling obligations to us (Mendenhall, 89)]

'u *ma*: cp. the same combination in line 35; "either . . . or", or "and indeed".

la: "not" (rather than "to").

yikiniwu: read *yikiwuni* to produce the imperfect 3rd person of *kawana* "be" (possibly nip. "be established", "be enduring", or hip. "prepare", "persevere")? Hence "he does not continue paying dues to me".

Or should we follow Mendenhall (90) in seeing the D-stem of a root *knw*, equivalent to later *kny*, "name, designate, appoint" (always

with honorific overtones, Hbr. “give a name of honour”, or “appoint to a high position”, Isaiah 44:5)? But this verb would require an object, and this might be the delayed “me” or “us” at the end of the line, or else the following word *hupita* (accusative case?). Hence, perhaps, “he does not honour (me) by fulfilling (his) obligations to me”.

hupita: Mendenhall, 90, sees a *ha*- causative verbal noun, with *-t* ending, from the root *wpy*, plausibly invoking OSArb. *wfy* “pay a debt”, *hwfy* “pay, grant; fulfill obligations, render someone his due” (Biella, 138; in one example used with *ʕr* to mean “pay tithes”, cp. notes on D 29 above).

ni ta: Mendenhall (90) takes this as *nita*, “the oblique first person plural suffix”, “us” (cp. notes on D 7a above; Mendenhall also finds this in D 39-40, but not in D 3-4). The king in document D normally uses first person singular verbs and pronouns of himself, notably *-ni* “(to) me” (see D 1-4 for various examples); *banu* “among us”(?) in D 5 includes those who have joined him. Here the king alone should be involved, as receiver of tribute, and so preference should be given to *hupita-ni* (the verbal noun taking the 1 p. sg. suffix employed for verbs, *-ni*), and the *ta* will then belong to the following word.

D 38b-39a *ta ha wu bu ma ta hu ba m* “and they incur the penalty”
[you have incurred guilt (Mendenhall, 90)]

Mendenhall (90) omits the first *ta*, and, acknowledging yet another case of the *figura etymologica*, he takes the first word (*hawubu + ma*) as a noun (“guilt”) in the “nominative absolute”, and the second as a verb (*tahuba + m*), 2 p. sg. optative (with-*a* ending).

By contrast, my reading finds the verb in the first word, 3. p. pl. m. with preformative *ta* (*tahawubu + ma*), and the second word is a noun, sg., accusative case, with mimation (*tahuba + m*).

As the syllabary does not distinguish *h* from *ḥ*, there is a choice between the roots *ḥwb* and *hwb*. The former has the attraction of meaning “fail”; OSArb. examples (Biella, 200-201) apply to items lacking from tribute, or dearth of rainstorms, and both these ideas have echoes in our text.

However, *hwb* “sin, be guilty” (Biella, 168) seems preferable, and this is Mendenhall’s choice. What springs to my mind is a clause in the *Mishnah* (Abot 1:11): *tāḥūbū ḥōbat gālūt*, “you incur the penalty of exile”. This matches the text before us admirably, except that the fem. noun has initial *t* in one case and final *t* in the other. The

penalty is stipulated in the Mishnaic example, and the following word in D 39 seems to be in the genitive case; but if it means “coming to me”, what kind of punishment is that? Or perhaps it means “they owe a debt” (Hbr. and Jewish Arm. *ḥōb* “debt”, Jastrow, 429).

D 39b-41 *ba wa 'i ni | ta di m 'i ma la ki ti ya ma ha | [?] ti] ḥu mu šī*
[*li*]

[entering into us is?? if against my covenant you act ruthlessly (Mendenhall 92)]

bawa'i ni: “coming to me”; this is either a participle (cp. Hbr. *bā'*) or an infinitive (cp. Hbr. *bō'*) of *bw'* “come”, of which root we have already seen the “hip'il” *habu'a* in D 31, and the “hop'al” participle *muba'i* in D 4-5, and possibly *ba'u -ni* “they have come to me” in D 7. If it is a verbal noun here, it is genitive singular; if a participle, it is gen. sg. or oblique plural. It may be a “genitive absolute”. Mendenhall (92) feels that it begins a new sentence, but it could be joined to the preceding word “penalty”, though the mimation on *taḥubam* might preclude it from being in the construct state.

The sequence *ni ta* is again “us” for Mendenhall (92); cp. notes on D 38.

ta di m: possibly the Arb. root *dwm*, *dāma*, “be permanent” (Biella, 81) is in evidence here. In one OSArb. example we find it conjoined with the root *bb'* “enter” (Biella, 37, 81): *bb'w dwmm*, “they have agreed forever (to what the king determines)”; this sentiment would certainly be appropriate for the present context. But if *dim* is a separate entity (in which case *ta* would have to be attached to *ni* as *nita*), then Ugr. *dm* (extended form of *d*) could provide an analogue, though it is a conjunction, “because” (Segert 1984, 80), and it would here be followed immediately by another conjunction.

'i ma: “if”? (Mendenhall 92), Hbr., Phn. *'im*; Ugr., OSArb. *hm*; Arb. *'in*.

la kitiya ma: “for my truth (or: justice)”.

ba [?] ti] ḥu mu šī [li]: *ḥumušī* could be “fifths”, Akd. **ḥumšu* (von Soden, 355), OSArb., Arb. *ḥums* (Biella, 205, for the idea of “fifths” apparently being levied in some cases instead of tithes). The text is badly damaged in the last line, but perhaps the first word is from the root *wpy* “pay dues”, as in D 38 above. At the end perhaps read [*li ya*] “to me”.

Mendenhall's interpretation of text D has always appeared basically plausible to me, but it is for others to judge whether the new suggestions I have made here amount to an improvement on it. Mendenhall's whole system has been widely rejected (Garbini 1988, Izre'el 1988, Kaufman 1989, Moran 1988, Ryckmans 1987, Röllig 1990), but B.S.J. Isserlin (1990) has attempted to build on Mendenhall's table of signs along the same lines as I have followed, comparing Gublaic glyphs with Egyptian hieroglyphs on the one side and proto-alphabetic signs on the other; and, for example, he comes to the same conclusion as I have on Mendenhall's *ba* (that it is Egp. hieroglyph O15, "hall in palace or temple", and is to be related to Semitic *heykāl*); he also suggests that *hi* is a sceptre (cp. Colless 1992, 73, where I also raise this possibility). This process of experimentation must continue, on all the available evidence, pending the discovery of new documents.

ABBREVIATIONS

Akd. = Akkadian Arb. = Arabic Arm. = Aramaic Egp. = Egyptian
Hbr. = Hebrew Phn. = Phoenician Syr. = Syriac Ugr. = Ugaritic

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beeston, A.F.L., 1984, *Sabaic Grammar* (Manchester)
 Biella, Joan, 1982, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect* (Chico).
 Brockelmann, Carl, 1908, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 2 vols (Berlin, reprinted 1961).
 Cagni, L., (ed.), 1981, *La Lingua di Ebla* (Naples).
 Colless, Brian E., 1988, Recent Discoveries Illuminating the Origin of the Alphabet, *Abr-Nahrain* 26: 30-67.
 —, 1990, The Proto-alphabetic Inscriptions of Sinai, *Abr-Nahrain* 28:1-52.
 —, 1991, The Proto-alphabetic Inscriptions of Canaan, *Abr-Nahrain* 29: 18-66.
 —, 1992, The Byblos Syllabary and the Proto-alphabet, *Abr-Nahrain* 30: 55-102.
 Dunand, M., 1945, *Byblia Grammata: Documents et recherches sur le développement de l'écriture en Phénicie* (Beirut).
 Fronzaroli, P., (ed.), 1984, *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, Quaderni di Semitistica 13 (Florence).
 Fronzaroli, P., (ed.), 1988, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 1, Quaderni di Semitistica 15 (Florence).
 Garbini, G., 1988, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 16: 129-131.

- Gardiner, A., 1966, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd Edn (London).
- Gelb, I.J., 1957, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago).
- Gibson, J.C.L., 1971, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: 1, Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions* (Oxford).
- , 1975, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: 2, Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford).
- , 1982, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: 3, Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford).
- Gibson, J.C.L., 1978, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh).
- Gordon, Cyrus, 1966 *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome).
- Gordon, Cyrus, (ed.), 1987, *Eblaitica*, vol. 1 (Winona Lake).
- Huehnergard, J., 1987, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta).
- Isserlin, B.S.J., 1990, The 'Pseudo-Hieroglyphic' Inscriptions from Byblos and Their Relation to Early Alphabetic Writing, *Semitica* 38: 179-185.
- Izre'el, Shlomo, 1988, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108: 519-520.
- Jastrow, M., 1950, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York).
- Jidejian, Nina, 1968, *Byblos through the Ages* (Beirut).
- Kaufman, S.A., 1989, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 276: 85-86.
- Lubetski, Meir, 1990, The utterance from the East: the sense of *hwt* in Psalms 52:4, 9; 91:3, *Religion* 20: 217-232.
- Mendenhall, George E., 1985, *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos* (Beirut).
- Moran, W.L., 1988, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 50: 508-510.
- Muraoka, T., 1987, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden).
- Rendsburg, G.A., 1989, Sabaic Notes to Hebrew Grammar, *Abr-Nahrain* 27: 106-119.
- Röllig, W., 1988, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 83: 574-575.
- Ryckmans, J., 1987, Review of Mendenhall 1985, *Le Muséon* 100: 419.
- Segert, S., 1976, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (München).
- , 1984, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Berkeley).
- von Soden, Wolfram, 1981, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden).
- Watson, W.G.E., 1990, The particle *p* in Ugaritic, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 7: 75-86.

THE EUPHRATES VALLEY AND EARLY BRONZE AGE CERAMIC TRADITIONS¹

BY

ANDREW STEWART JAMIESON

INTRODUCTION

There has been no universal adoption of a terminology for the chronology of the north Syrian Early Bronze Age, a period generally understood to span ca. 3100/3000-2000 B.C. A spate of differing terminologies attest to this lack of scholarly consensus. Excavators have developed internal periodization for individual sites and attempted to relate their results either to the better known Palestinian or Mesopotamian chronological schemes. The first utilises the designations EBA I, II, III, IVA/B, the second employs the historical terms Jemdet Nasr, Early Dynastic I, II, III, Akkadian/Sargonic, Gutian and Ur III. This terminology is ill-defined for northern Syria and its inconsistent use has hindered our understanding of the period under consideration.

Contributing to the problem of chronological terminology is the fact that third millennium north Syria is characterised by a variety of regional pottery traditions which are reflected in a distinct range of localised wares and types. This factor has prohibited the correlation of site assemblages across northern Syria. The situation is compounded by the high degree of continuity within the different regional ceramic traditions which has restricted the recognition of a well defined ceramic sequence based upon distinctive typological features.

Attempts to understand this complex situation have emphasized the concept of ceramic cultures or pottery regions as a method for interpretation. Owing to the lack of quantified ceramic data it has

¹ This article is a revised text of one chapter from the author's Master of Arts dissertation entitled *The Early Bronze Age Pottery of the Middle and Upper Euphrates Valley of Northern Syria and the Third Millennium Ceramic Evidence from Tell Ahmar*, submitted to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Melbourne and supervised by Dr G. Bunnens. The author would like to thank Dr G. Bunnens and Dr A. Roobaert-Bunnens for their assistance in the preparation of this article.

been necessary to correlate the presence or absence of particular attributes (*i.e.* wares and types) in the stratigraphically defined assemblages to construct a ceramic sequence. This approach, while it is acknowledged to be less precise than quantitative analysis, does enable some observations to be made concerning the development of third millennium pottery traditions and periodization in the Euphrates valley and the neighbouring north Syrian regions.

In the early 1960s R.J. Braidwood and L.S. Braidwood were among the first scholars to describe the distribution of ceramic cultures in third millennium Syria. Their efforts however, were severely restricted at the time due to the limited amount of available excavated evidence.²

In 1976, H. Kühne added to the concept of north Syrian ceramic regionalism in his dissertation on the third millennium B.C. pottery from Tell Chuera.³ Although much of Kühne's thesis was concerned with the dating of the Tell Chuera pottery corpus, which has since been the subject of considerable debate,⁴ he organised the Tell Chuera pottery according to fabric families (Simple Ware, Metallic Ware, Painted Wares and Cooking Pot Ware with Triangular Handles), and traced the distribution of these wares to define cultural and economic borders. Kühne identified four ceramic zones comprising of 1) north-east Syrian; 2) north-west Syrian; 3) south-east Anatolian and 4) Mesopotamian; all of which to some extent prevailed upon the Tell Chuera assemblage.⁵

In discussing the Tell Mardikh Palace G (IIB₁-IIB₂) pottery assemblage, traditionally referred to as "EB IVA/B" or "Caliciform", S. Mazzoni in 1985 identified three ceramic cultures active in northern Syria during the second half of the third millennium B.C.; 1) a coastal culture extending between Tell Simiriyan and the Amuq; 2) a north-central culture in the area between Homs and the western bank of the Euphrates; and 3) a north-eastern culture from the Euphrates to all of the Jezirah.⁶ Mazzoni defined the cultures on the basis of particular ceramic wares and types. The coastal culture she noted was characterised by the long duration of Red-Black Burnished

² R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 516-523.

³ H. Kühne, 1976.

⁴ P. Spanos, 1977, pp. 289-298; R. Zettler, 1978, pp. 345-350. See more recently G.M. Schwartz, 1988, pp. 65-66, 72; G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 347-348.

⁵ H. Kühne, 1976, Map 4, pp. 516-523.

⁶ S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, pp. 1-18, fig. 1; S. Mazzoni, 1985/b, pp. 561-577.

Wares, Pattern-Combed Wares, Reserved-Slip Wares and Simple and Painted Simple Wares. The north-central culture was identified by Simple Ware, Painted Simple and Smeared-Wash Wares. The north-eastern region was marked by Metallic Wares and Smeared-Wash Wares.

G.M. Schwartz's 1987 review of the publication on the Graves from Tawi emphasized the uniformity of the Euphrates valley pottery assemblage.⁷ This finding contrasted with that of Mazzoni who had suggested the Euphrates served as a dividing line or resistant buffer zone between two east-west ceramic regions.⁸ According to Schwartz the assemblages from either side of the Euphrates have as much in common with each other as they have with assemblages from either the Orontes valley or the Balikh and Habur plains. R.H. Dornemann also in 1987 arrived at a similar conclusion, observing that sites in the Euphrates valley located between Mari and Carchemish exhibit greater parallels with one another than with areas to the east or west of the river valley.⁹

L. Thissen in 1989, traced the ceramic frontiers of another region beyond the middle Euphrates, which is centred in the Balikh valley and concentrated around the sites of Harran, Tell Chuera and Hammam et-Turkman.¹⁰ Thissen demonstrated that these sites have the same standard repertoire of Plain Simple Ware and share a preference for more specialised wares such as Stone (Metallic) Ware, Triangular Handle Cooking Pot Ware and Comb Wash Ware. The region identified by Thissen is related to the ceramic zones described by Kühne for Tell Chuera and is chronologically earlier than those discussed by Mazzoni.

Despite the Euphrates' acknowledged importance the ceramic features of this locality have not been subjected to a detailed investigation. A sufficient body of material now exists to define the characteristics of the middle and upper Euphrates valley region. The stratified ceramic evidence from sites located in the middle and upper Euphrates valley indicates that this area already existed as a culturally distinct ceramic region at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

⁷ G.M. Schwartz, 1987, p. 242.

⁸ Cf. S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, p. 11.

⁹ R.H. Dornemann, 1987, p. 277.

¹⁰ L.C. Thissen, 1989, pp. 195-211.

THE BEGINNING OF THE EBA IN THE EUPHRATES VALLEY

Our knowledge of the transition from the Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic period to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in northern Syria is limited. In the past the Amuq Phases F-G have been the best available reference for this period.¹¹ Amuq F is generally seen to be contemporary with the Late Uruk period of Mesopotamia, on the basis of close parallels with south Mesopotamian materials,¹² but at the same time, as R.H. Dornemann has observed, it represents an assemblage that stands in a continuum of local traditions.¹³ Contemporary with Amuq F in the Euphrates valley is the period of south Mesopotamian Uruk expansion which is best represented by the middle Euphrates sites of Habuba Kabira, Tell Kannâs and Jebel Aruda.¹⁴ These sites, unlike Amuq F, are dominated by features which have a strong south Mesopotamian orientation.

Dornemann has observed that the subsequent Amuq G period, placed opposite the Jemdet Nasr-ED I period of southern Mesopotamia, represents a developed Syrian ceramic tradition that has replaced the Chaff-Faced Simple Ware products of the beginning of Amuq F and developed as its basis the grit-tempered Plain Simple Wares that continue through the third millennium B.C.¹⁵

The problem of whether or not south Mesopotamian Late Uruk features like the Bevelled-Rim Bowls begin towards the end of Phase F and continue into the beginning of Phase G in the Amuq highlights a critical problem. T.L. McClellan and A. Porter observe that a similar predicament exists in the Euphrates valley, where in Stratum 1, Levels 1-3 of Area RII at Tell Hadidi, elements typical of the Uruk colony period as well as the grit-tempered Plain Simple Wares typical of Amuq G were found.¹⁶ McClellan and Porter assert that this situation has given rise to some debate as to whether Stratum 1 at Tell Hadidi, like Amuq G, belongs to "EB I", as

¹¹ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 226-344.

¹² P.J. Watson, 1965, pp. 73-75, 82.

¹³ R.H. Dornemann, 1988, p. 14.

¹⁴ E. Strommenger, 1980; A. Finet, 1979, pp. 215-228; A. Finet, 1980, pp. 107-116; G. Van Driel, 1980, pp. 75-93.

¹⁵ R.H. Dornemann, 1988, p. 14.

¹⁶ T.L. McClellan and A. Porter, (forthcoming).

Dornemann calls it, or is more properly to be seen as Late Uruk.¹⁷ Dornemann argues that the Mesopotamian occurrences of the Bevelled-Rim Bowl have a long history which extend beyond the Late Uruk period and into the Early Dynastic.¹⁸

In contrast, G. Algaze does not utilize the term "EB I" until after the Bevelled-Rim Bowl component has disappeared from the assemblage. Algaze supports his argument with evidence derived from Kurban Höyük where Bevelled-Rim Bowls appear in the Period VI (Late Chalcolithic) sequence and disappear in Period V (Beginning of the EBA).¹⁹ Algaze suggests one solution to this problem of the Bevelled-Rim Bowls, in the Amuq at least, is to reassign levels 20-18 of Tell Judaidah to Phase F rather than to the early levels of Phase G which would confine this form to the earlier Phase F range.²⁰

This explanation could also be applied to Levels 1-3 of Stratum 1 at Tell Hadidi where it is noted that the Stratum 1 Level 4 and Stratum 2 Level 1 assemblage contains similar Plain Simple Ware types as Levels 1-3 of Stratum 1 but without the Bevelled-Rim Bowl and Uruk related component. These later levels at Tell Hadidi are like the neighbouring assemblages at Tell Sweyhat and Halawa.²¹ Present evidence indicates that these latter sites were not occupied in the preceding Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic period.

McClellan and Porter suggest that a more appropriate understanding of this problem is to view both the early levels of Amuq G (JK 3:22-18) and Stratum 1 at Tell Hadidi as transitional to both periods. According to McClellan and Porter this development is similar to the post Uruk settlement at Hassek Höyük in the Karababa basin, where subsequent to the destruction of the main Uruk level, Uruk type ceramics are found with new, and local materials.²²

To summarise the state of our knowledge of the end of the Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic period and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in the middle and upper Euphrates valley, it appears that three

¹⁷ T.L. McClellan and A. Porter, (forthcoming).

¹⁸ See R.H. Dornemann, 1988, p. 15; R.H. Dornemann, 1990, pp. 85-100.

¹⁹ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 243-280 (Period VI) & pp. 281-309 (Period V); G. Algaze, 1986, p. 278.

²⁰ G. Algaze, 1986, pp. 281-282.

²¹ For Tell Sweyhat see T.A. Holland, 1976, pp. 36-70. For Halawa see F. Lüth, 1981, pp. 85-109.

²² T.L. McClellan and A. Porter, (forthcoming). For Hassek Höyük see M.R. Behm-Blancke, *et al.*, 1981, pp. 2-82; M.R. Behm-Blancke, *et al.*, 1984, pp. 31-149.

different settlement contexts and associated ceramic assemblages may be distinguished. The first is represented by sites like Kurban Höyük where the dividing line from the Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic (Period VI) to the Early Bronze Age (Period V) is stratigraphically, architecturally and ceramically indicated by a clear separation of the two periods. The second type of occupation is characterised by the settlement at Tell Hadidi (Area RII, Stratum 1) where the beginning of the Early Bronze Age is represented by a ceramic assemblage which contains limited features of the Late Uruk period as well as more abundant elements typical of the Early Bronze Age. The third settlement type is represented by sites with assemblages which do not appear to have been occupied in the Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic period and which begin for the first time at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age similar to the sites at Tell Sweyhat (Area II) and Halawa (Tell B).

THE EBA POTTERY HORIZONS OF THE EUPHRATES VALLEY

The sites considered in this study were excavated as a consequence of the construction of the Tabqa²³ (now Lake Assad) and Tishreen²⁴ (presently under construction) Dams in northern Syria and the Karababa²⁵ (now Atatürk) Dam in south-eastern Anatolia.

Horizon 1A

Three main ware types may be distinguished in the post Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic assemblages of sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley. They consist of Plain Simple Ware, Cooking Pot Ware and Late Reserved-Slip Ware.

Plain Simple Ware (PSW) is characterised by its buff to light brown colour and may be divided into a number of related

²³ See reports in D.N. Freedman (ed.), 1979; J.CL. Margueron (ed.), 1980.

²⁴ On the sites to be flooded by the Tishreen Dam see T.L. McClellan & A. Porter (in press).

²⁵ For Euphrates area salvage excavations in south-eastern Anatolia see M. Özdogan, 1977, especially pp. 144-145, 182, 160; and M.J. Mellink, 1984, pp. 447-450; M.J. Mellink, 1985, pp. 554-557; M.J. Mellink, 1987, pp. 8-12; M.J. Mellink, 1988, pp. 110-113; M.J. Mellink, 1989, pp. 113-116.

variants.²⁶ The most common is a buff coloured ware, not unlike that of the Plain Simple Ware tradition of the preceding period from which it is derived.

A standard range of Plain Simple Ware bowl and jar shapes make up the core types of the post Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic assemblage and may be divided into two groups. The first category is represented by an established or static group of types which undergo little or no change in general shape morphology. These core types remain a consistent component of the Plain Simple Ware tradition throughout the whole third millennium. The types of this first group consist of small to medium sized simple open bowls with plain rims (fig. 1:1, 11, 18, 27); small bowls with convex upper bodies and in-turned tapering rims (fig. 1:2, 19, 28); medium sized hemispherical bowls with thickened or folded rims, which can be either open or slightly inverted (fig. 1:3, 12, 20, 29) and a range of jars with restricted concave necks and externally thickened or folded, out-turned rims (fig. 1:4, 13, 21, 30). These types presumably fulfilled a range of utilitarian functions which dictated their shape and ensured their survival.

The second category is represented by new or evolving shapes. This “transient” group are less numerous, but are more sensitive to change and are consequently better indicators for chronological development in the Plain Simple Ware tradition. The most distinctive, new post Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic Plain Simple Ware type is represented by small cups with “S”-shaped profiles (fig. 1:5, 14, 22, 31).²⁷ These cups are characterised by sinuous body walls and out-turned, off-set rims and in some instances have applied small ring bases. Other new types to appear in the assemblages of middle and upper Euphrates valley sites are vessels with pedestal bases (fig. 1:6, 15, 23) and cups or bowls with long stem bases (fig. 1:7).

Cooking Pot Ware (CPW) is less frequently occurring but consistently present. It is characterised by its hand-made construction and rather coarse texture which suggests a domestic level of production.

²⁶ Plain Simple Ware refers to the common ware type of northern Syria and has become the standard terminology (R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 264-274).

²⁷ At some sites cups with “S”-shaped profiles appear first in Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic assemblages. For example Kurban Höyük (G. Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 19:S) in south-eastern Anatolia.

Most vessels produced in this ware are open bowl shapes (fig. 1:24) or globular vessels with rounded bases which usually have either in-turned or slightly out-turned rims (fig. 1:16,25).

Late Reserved-Slip Ware (LRSW) is the most distinctive ware type.²⁸ This fabric represents a more specific regional ceramic tradition than the common and more universal Plain Simple Ware and Cooking Pot Ware traditions. In the middle and upper Euphrates valley Late Reserved-Slip Ware is a direct development of the "Early" or "Pseudo" Reserved-Slip Ware of the preceding Late Uruk/Late Chalcolithic period where it was associated with other ceramic indicators of the Late Uruk period.²⁹ Vessels made from Late Reserved-Slip Ware are similar in composition to the Plain Simple Ware but are distinguished by the Reserved-Slip surface decoration. This treatment consists of a cream to yellow coloured slip applied to the exterior of the vessel which is then partially wiped back in oblique radial lines to expose the normally darker clay body beneath. Shapes decorated with this technique are usually similar to the Plain Simple Ware jars with restricted concave necks and externally thickened, out-turned rims (fig. 1:8,17,26,32). The reserved pattern is most often contained in a register on the upper body. Other shapes decorated with Reserved-Slip occur less frequently and include cups with "S"-shaped profiles (fig. 1:9) and hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (fig. 1:10).

1A Site Assemblages

The ceramic attributes considered in the following analysis represent selected common shape and fabric types from excavated sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley. Much of this data has been compiled from preliminary reports but despite this limitation there is sufficient material to indicate the characteristics and technical developments of this region during the Early Bronze Age.

²⁸ For the distribution of this ware see S. Mazzoni, 1980, pp. 241-258; J. Mellaart, 1981, pp. 155-157; J. Mellaart, 1982, pp. 7-12. On the technique of producing Reserved-Slip Ware see A. Jamieson, 1989/90, pp. 18-21.

²⁹ On the differences between these two traditions see A. Palmieri, 1985, pp. 192, 205, fig. 3, 5; D. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 7-43.

HASSEK HÖYÜK *Hügelplateau Levels 3-4*³⁰

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 12:4)
 bowls with in-turned rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 8:5)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 11:1)
 jars with out-turned thickened rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 17:4)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 8:8)
 vessels with pedestal bases (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 13:2)
 cups with long stem bases (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 13:5,7)
- LRSW jars with out-turned thickened rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 18:9)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 9:2)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 10:16)

KURBAN HÖYÜK *Area CO1 Period VB*³¹

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 45:A-B)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 45:C; 47:E)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 44:M, T; 46:J; fig. 98:K)
 jar with out-turned thickened rim (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 50:K)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 44:A-C; fig. 98:B-C)
- CPW open bowls with plain rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 51:H)
 jars with short necks and out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 52:B, D, fig. 98:L)
- LRSW jars with out-turned thickened rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 49:L; fig. 98:I)

HAYAZ HÖYÜK *Square FG Levels 4-6*³²

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:1)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:13)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:27)
 jars with out-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 4:29,33)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:17)
- LRSW reported occurrences of Reserved-Slip Ware (Thissen, 1985, p. 85)

CARCHEMISH *Cist Graves (KCG 13)*³³

- PSW cups ("champagne" cups) with tall stem bases (Woolley & Barnett, 1952, pl. 58c:1-5)
- LRSW jars with out-turned rims (Woolley & Barnett, 1952, pl. 58c:1)
 vessels with pedestal bases (Woolley & Barnett, 1952, pl. 58c:2)

³⁰ M.R. Behm-Blancke, *et al.*, 1981, pp. 5-81; M.R. Behm-Blancke, *et al.*, 1984, pp. 31-149. For pottery see M.R. Von Hoh, 1981, pp. 31-82; M.R. Von Hoh, 1984, pp. 66-91.

³¹ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 289-299.

³² J.J. Roodenberg, 1980, pp. 3-19; J.J. Roodenberg, 1982, pp. 27-32. For pottery see L.C. Thissen, 1985, pp. 75-130.

³³ D.G. Hogarth, 1909, pp. 165-184; D.G. Hogarth, 1914, pp. 87-90; C.L. Woolley, 1921; C.L. Woolley & R.D. Barnett, 1952, pp. 205-226.

KARA HASAN *Tomb Group*³⁴

- PSW bowls with in-turned rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XIX:(b)1)
 narrow necked bottle with globular body (Woolley, 1914, pl. XIX:(b)2)
 LRSW vessels with pedestal bases (Woolley, 1914, pl. XIX:(b)3)

TELL AHMAR *Area A (1988) Strata A-D*³⁵

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 19:1-20)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 20:1-28)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 22-28)
 jars with out-turned rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 29-36)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 21:1-27)
 CPW open bowls with plain rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 38:1-3)
 jars with in-turned rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 37:1-2; 38:4-7; 39:1-2, 10)
 jars with out-turned rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 37:3-6; 38:8-15; 39:3-9, 11-14; 40:1-3)
 LRSW jars with out-turned rims (Jamieson, 1990, fig. 44-45)

TELL SWEYHAT *Area II Trench A*³⁶

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 4:13)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 5:29)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 5:5)
 jars with out-turned rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 4:30)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Holland, 1976, fig. 4:26)
 vessels with pedestal bases (Holland, 1976, fig. 4:38)
 CPW jars with out-turned rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 4:35)

TELL HADIDI *Area RII Stratum 1 Level 4*³⁷

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 4:15-19, 36; 5:7-9, 31-33)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 5:6, 34, 38)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 4:20, 35)
 jars with out-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 4:29-30, 38; 5:16-25)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 4:37; 5:35, 37)

TELL MUNBAQA *Steinbau I Level 4*³⁸

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Orthmann & Kühne, 1974, fig. 4:4)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Orthmann & Kühne, 1974, fig. 4:1)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Orthmann & Kühne, 1974, fig. 5:2)
 jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann & Kühne, 1974, fig. 5:3)
 CPW jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann & Kühne, 1974, fig. 5:5)

³⁴ C.L. Woolley, 1914, pp. 88-89.³⁵ See G. Bunnens, 1989, pp. 1-11; G. Bunnens, (ed.), 1990; G. Bunnens, 1991/a, pp. 163-170; G. Bunnens, 1991/b, pp. 732-734. G. Bunnens, 1992, pp. 1-3. For the pottery see A. Jamieson, 1990, pp. 24-105.³⁶ T.A. Holland, 1976, pp. 36-70.³⁷ R.H. Dornemann, 1979, pp. 113-151; R.H. Dornemann, 1988, pp. 13-42; R.H. Dornemann, 1990, pp. 85-100.³⁸ W. Orthmann & H. Kühne, 1974, pp. 53-97, fig. 4-6.

HABUBA KABIRA *South-eastern Slope North Mound*³⁹

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Strommenger, 1971, fig. 8:1)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Strommenger, 1971, fig. 8:5)
 jars with out-turned rims (Strommenger, 1971, fig. 8:10)

HALAWA *Tell B Level I & II*⁴⁰

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Lüth, 1981, pl. 56:10)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Lüth, 1981, pl. 53:3)
 jars with out-turned rims (Lüth, 1981, pl. 57:9)
 cups with "S"-shaped profiles (Lüth, 1981, pl. 56:21-23)
 vessels with pedestal bases (Lüth, 1981, pl. 56:13-14)

Horizon 1B

A number of changes in the stratigraphically defined pottery sequences of sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley suggest evidence for the subdivision of horizon 1 into two phases (A & B). The later 1B horizon may be distinguished by a process of refinement in the Plain Simple Ware tradition together with the appearance of new types. No significant changes are observed in the Cooking Pot Ware or Reserved-Slip Ware traditions.

Plain Simple Ware (PSW) represents a continuation of the preceding 1A horizon which is reflected in the presence of core Plain Simple Ware types (open bowls with plain rims [fig. 2:1,8,16,18]; bowls with in-turned rims [fig. 2:2,9,19]; hemispherical bowls with thickened rims [fig. 2:3,10,20]; jars with out-turned rims [fig. 2:4, 11,21]). The increased use however, of a more refined dense greenish variant of Plain Simple Ware at some sites together with the appearance of new types in the Plain Simple Ware tradition marks a technological and chronological development. The most distinctive new shape to appear are the small cyma-recta type cups; distinguished by their out-flared sinuous profiles and small ring bases (fig. 2:5,12, 17,22).⁴¹ G. Algaze has suggested that these vessels most likely evolved from the earlier cups with "S"-shaped profiles.⁴² The number of wasters and over-fired examples of cyma-recta cups found at some Euphrates river sites clearly indicates that the manufacture of these vessels was indigenous to the valley.⁴³ Other new types are

³⁹ E. Strommenger, 1971, pp. 21-25.

⁴⁰ F. Lüth, 1981, pp. 44-48, pls. 56 & 57; F. Lüth, 1989, pp. 85-109.

⁴¹ On the cyma-recta cup see R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, p. 352.

⁴² G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, p. 283, note 2.

⁴³ Cyma-recta wasters and evidence of a kiln site have been found at Hayaz Höyük (L.C. Thissen, 1985, pp. 87-88), they were also possibly manufactured at Kurban Höyük, see G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 292, 426.

bowls with bead rims and spouts applied to their upper bodies (fig. 2:7,13).

Cooking Pot Ware (CPW) does not exhibit any fundamental changes to that which occurred in the previous horizon (fig. 2:14). This stability may have resulted from the presumably localised and domestic level of production.

Late Reserved-Slip Ware (LRSW) continues unchanged like the Cooking Pot Ware, but appears to gradually decrease in use (fig. 2:15).

1B Site Assemblages

HASSEK HÖYÜK *Quadraten (S 18 D) Levels 1-2*⁴⁴

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 12:5)
 bowls with in-turned rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 8:6)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 12:1)
 jars with out-turned rims (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 22:8)
 cyma-recta cups (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 9:11)
 vessels with pedestal bases (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 13:4)
 bowls with bead rims and spouts (von Hoh, 1981, fig. 10:1)

KURBAN HÖYÜK *Area CO1 Period VA*⁴⁵

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 43:M)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 43:A)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 44:O-P;
 fig. 100:A-B; 101:C; 102:D)
 jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 49:F, I; 50:G, H; fig. 102:E,
 I-J)
 cyma-recta cups (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 43:J, K; fig. 100:C; 101:B; 102:A-B;
 103:A)
 bowls with bead rims and spouts (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 45:E-F)
 CPW jars with globular bodies and out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 51:J;
 fig. 100:D-E; 101:A)
 LRSW jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 49:N-O; fig. 100:G)

HAYAZ HÖYÜK *Square FG Level 3*⁴⁶

- PSW bowls with in-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:15)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 4:1)
 jars with out-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 4:31)
 cyma-recta cups (Thissen, 1985, fig. 5:15-19)

TELL HADIDI *Area R II Stratum 2 Level 1*⁴⁷

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 6:24-25)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 6:26-28)

⁴⁴ M.R. Von Hoh, 1981, pp. 31, 38, 50.

⁴⁵ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 291-292.

⁴⁶ L.C. Thissen, 1985, pp. 88-90, 93-95.

⁴⁷ R.H. Dornemann, 1988, p. 17; R.H. Dornemann, 1990, p. 88.

hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 6:38)
 jars with out-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 7:2-20)
 cyma-recta cups (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 6:33,36)

Horizon 2A

The appearance of a number of new fabric types together with new shapes in the Plain Simple Ware and Cooking Pot Ware traditions indicate evidence for a development in the ceramic tradition of the Euphrates valley. The new wares which appear for the first time include Horizontal Reserved-Slip Ware, Red Banded Ware, Karababa Painted Ware, Comb Wash Ware and Metallic Ware.

Plain Simple Ware (PSW) remains the standard fabric and core types continue relatively unchanged (open bowls with plain rims [fig. 3:1,14,19,28]; bowls with in-turned rims [fig. 3:2,15,20,29]; hemispherical bowls with thickened rims [fig. 3:3,16,21,30]; jars with out-turned rims [fig. 3:4,17,22,31]). However, the Plain Simple Ware appears now as a more fine textured and evenly fired product.⁴⁸ There is a tendency to corrugate the outer surface of vessels with fine horizontal bands and a noticeable refinement of vessel shapes. This is clearly seen in the most distinctive new type to appear which is represented by a series of small conical shaped cups (fig. 3:5,32). These cups have out-flared upper walls, flat bases and may occur with a variety of different rim treatments which are either beaded, folded or thickened. Conical cups usually have wheel striations or corrugations on either or both of their interior and exterior surfaces. Other new types include small bowls or goblets with plain surfaces, round or flat bases and plain or slightly beaded rims (fig. 3:23); teapots with rounded bases and short spouts (fig. 3:25,34) and jars with rounded bases with restricted concave necks and out-turned rims (fig. 3:24,33).

Triangular Handle Cooking Pot Ware (THCPW) replaces the Cooking Pot Ware of horizon 1A-B. The vessel shapes remain globular but frequently have applied triangular handles attached to the top of the rim (fig. 3:6,18,35). In some instances up to four lugs may be applied.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ In the Amuq this improvement is noted in the change of terminology from Plain Simple Ware to Simple Ware (R.J. Braidwood & L. S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 406-413).

⁴⁹ Triangular handles are found during the late fourth millennium in the

Horizontal Reserved-Slip Ware (HRSW) represents a continuation of the earlier Late (vertical) Reserved-Slip Ware tradition.⁵⁰ This ware is defined by its characteristic exterior surface decoration, which is achieved by wiping off in a patterned fashion portions of the still wet slip covering the surface of the vessel in horizontal bands. The main shapes to be decorated with this technique are jars with out-turned, externally thickened rims (fig. 3:8) and a limited range of hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (fig. 3:7).

Red Banded Ware (RBW) appears for the first time and is not unlike the Plain Simple Ware in colour and texture, but is distinguished by linear patterns consisting of painted, wheel applied red lines of varying thickness. Jars with restricted necks are the most frequently decorated shapes (fig. 3:26,36). The large quantity of vessels with this surface treatment found at Tell Hadidi has led to the suggestion that Hadidi was the main production centre for this ceramic tradition.⁵¹

Karababa Painted Ware (KPW) has been found at sites in northern Mesopotamia, but appears to be most common along the lower reaches of the Euphrates valley in south-eastern Anatolia.⁵² This ware is distinguished by its distinct decoration which consists of a free standing band or geometric frieze usually placed over the shoulder of the vessel. A red coloured or dark maroon slip appears to have been the most common colour used, however examples with a dark brown paint are also encountered. The most common forms decorated in Karababa Ware are bowl shapes decorated with a simple band which covers the interior and exterior of the rim and a range of jar forms which usually bear more complex designs (fig. 3:9).

Comb Wash Ware (CWW) derives its name from its characteristic exterior decoration which features registers of wavy and horizontal painted bands left in reserve over the vessel body after an original coat of slip was wiped away with a comb like instrument.⁵³ Shapes normally decorated in Comb Wash Ware are conical cups, similar in

Altinova plain, east-central Anatolia. See H. Hauptmann, 1982, pp. 41-70. On the distribution of this ware see H. Kühne, 1976, pp. 99-103, figs. 383-395, map 3.

⁵⁰ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, p. 312.

⁵¹ L.C. Thissen, 1989, p. 205; see also S. Mazzoni, 1985/b, p. 568.

⁵² C.L. Thissen, 1985, pp. 93-95; G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 322-326.

⁵³ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 446-450, figs. 319, 345-347.

shape to the ones made of Plain Simple Ware (fig. 3:10). Other shapes include jars with restricted mouths, everted necks and out-turned rims.

Metallic Ware (MW) imitates shapes produced in metal and is normally fine textured, highly fired and a distinctive grey colour.⁵⁴ This ware tends to fracture in jagged edges and has a “clinky” resonance when struck. In north-east Syria and north Mesopotamia Metallic Ware replaces the Ninevite V ceramic tradition. The Metallic Ware types which occur in the Euphrates valley are normally small open bowls similar to the Plain Simple Ware conical cups (fig. 3:11), a range of small jars with rounded bases (fig. 3:12) and a series of narrow necked vessels often referred to as Syrian Bottles (fig. 3:13,27).

2A Site Assemblages

KURBAN HÖYÜK *Area A, F, COI Period IV*⁵⁵

PSW	open bowls with plain rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 54:N-Q; 59:F-G) bowls with in-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 54:T, X-Y) hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 55:D-O; 56:A-N; 58:K) jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 65:A-N; 66:A-O; 67:A-J; 68:A-F) conical cups with corrugated surfaces (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 53:C-V)
THCPW	jars with triangular handles (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 93:B, I, J, L-M)
HRSW	hemispherical bowls and jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 75:F-K; 76:A-B)
KPW	hemispherical bowls and jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 81-89)
CWW	conical cups, hemispherical bowls and jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 79:H-W; 80:A-O)
MW	conical cups, hemispherical bowls and jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 77:A-X; 78:A-R; 79:A-G)
Other	occurrences of Red-Black Burnished Ware (Algaze [ed.], 1990, p. 333, pl. 90:J,K)

HAYAZ HÖYÜK *Square FG Levels 1-2*⁵⁶

PSW	open bowls with plain rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:10) hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:22-23; 4:15)
-----	--

⁵⁴ H. Kühne, 1976, pp. 33-72. See also S. Fitz, 1984, pp. 123-132; H. Kühne & G. Schneider, 1988, pp. 83-139; G. Schneider, 1989, pp. 30-50.

⁵⁵ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 311, 334-335.

⁵⁶ L.C. Thissen, 1985, p. 79.

- jars with out-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, fig. 4:32,34)
 conical cups with corrugated surfaces (Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:3,4)
 THCPW jars with triangular handles (Thissen, 1985, fig.)
 KPW jars with out-turned rims (Thissen, 1985, pp. 92-95, fig. 9, 10, 11:1-2)
 MW bowl with beaded rim (Thissen, 1985, p. 98, fig. 5:28)
 Other Red-Black Burnished Ware & Burnished Ware (Thissen, 1985, pp. 88-91, fig. 6)

TELL EL-BANAT *Sounding A Stratum 2*⁵⁷

- PSW bowls with in-turned rims (McClellan, forthcoming)
 goblets with rounded bases and plain or slightly beaded rims (McClellan, forthcoming)

TELL HADIDI *Stratum 2 Levels 2-3*⁵⁸

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 8:17,19-20)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 8:18,21,24-25)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 8:39; 9:19)
 jars with out-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 8:36-38; 9:4-6,9,22-23)
 THCPW jars with triangular handles (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 7:26)

TELL AL-'ABD *Soundings (K6-11, L11, I11 & J14) Level III*⁵⁹

- PSW goblets with rounded bases (Bounni, 1979, p. 53)

HALAWA *Graves H-64, H-70 & H-123*⁶⁰

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 60:1)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 58:3; 60:11)
 jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 61:28)
 vessels with pedestal bases (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 60:16)
 goblets with plain rims and round bases (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 60:18; 71:1)
 jars with out-turned rims and round bases (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 71:3)
 teapots with round bases and short spouts (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 71:7)
 RBW jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 62:33)
 MW jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 59:28)
 Syrian Bottles (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 59:28)

TAWI *Graves T1-5, T19-22, T25 (?), T27, T70 & T71*⁶¹

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 20:66)

⁵⁷ T.L. McClellan, 1991, pp. 700-701; T.L. McClellan, (forthcoming).

⁵⁸ R.H. Dornemann, 1988, pp. 26-38.

⁵⁹ A. Bounni, 1979, p. 52.

⁶⁰ W. Orthmann *et al.*, 1981, pp. 49, 54-59.

⁶¹ I. Kampschulte & W. Orthmann, 1984, pp. 9-12, 33-62, 67-68, 71-74, 93-102.

- bowls with in-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 18:5)
- hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 19:34)
- jars with out-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 1:2)
- conical cups (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 21:89)
- small goblets with rounded bases (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 20:68)
- teapots with rounded bases and short spouts (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 27:242)
- jars with rounded bases (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 24:248)
- goblets with plain exterior surfaces (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 21:82)
- vessels with pedestal bases (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 1:1)
- THCPW jars with triangular handles (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 23:141)
- RBW jars with out-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 26:215)
- MW Syrian Bottles (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 1b:5)

Horizon 2B

The decreased use of specialised wares together with the appearance of a larger number of new Plain Simple Ware types which exhibit an advanced degree of technical specialisation suggests a development in the pottery sequences of sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley.

Plain Simple Ware (PSW) remains the standard fabric type and simple open bowls (fig. 4:9,19); bowls with in-turned rims (fig. 4:1, 10,20,31); hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (fig. 4:2,11, 21,32) and jars with out-turned rims (fig. 4:3,22,33) represent core shapes which continue relatively unchanged. The most distinctive new Plain Simple Ware shape to appear is the "Hama" type goblet which has a wide distribution across northern Syria (fig. 4:4,12, 23,34).⁶² This vessel is characterised by a barrel shape, ring base, slightly thickened rim and corrugated exterior surface. Other new types are small bowls with vertical and/or multiple grooved rims (fig. 4:5,13,24); medium sized jars with restricted concave necks and out-turned, grooved or splayed rims (fig. 4:6,14,25,35); short neck jars with band rims (fig. 4:7,26,36); teapots with ring bases and long spouts (fig. 4:15,27); globular, round-based jars with restricted necks and two applied loop handles (fig. 4:18,30,38) and shallow bowls

⁶² Named after the Orontes valley site where this type of vessel is found in abundance in the Period J levels (Fugmann, 1958, pp. 49-85). For a comparative overview of the distribution of corrugated goblets see E. Heinrich, 1970, pp. 79-81.

with numerous perforations which presumably served as strainers or sieves (fig. 4:8,28,37). One of the most characteristic new types to occur are vessels with applied tripod feet (fig. 4:16,17,29).

Triangular Handle Cooking Pot Ware (THCPW) is not significantly different from that which occurred in horizon 2A.

Specialised Wares such as Red Banded Ware and Metallic Ware also continue to appear. Horizontal Reserved Slip Ware, Comb Wash Ware and Karababa Ware are only found in insignificant amounts.

2B Site Assemblages

KURBAN HÖYÜK *Area A Period III*⁶³

- PSW simple bowls with plain rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 103:A-F)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 98:N-P)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 99:K-V; 100:A-M; 101:A-J)
 jars with out-turned rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 105:E-M; 107:A-P; 108:A-K; 109:A-O)
 goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 97:G-Q)
 bowls with vertical rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 98:C-K)
 jars with multiple grooved rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 113:A-P; 114:A-O)
 jars with band rims (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 105:H-P)
 sieves (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 99:D-H)
- THCPW bowls with plain rims and triangular handles (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 134:D)
 jars with triangular handles (Algaze [ed.], 1990, pl. 135:H-J)

AMARNA *Tombs*⁶⁴

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:5, 7)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:2-4, 8)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened in-turned rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:19-21)
 bowls with vertical rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:1)
 jars with out-turned grooved rims (Woolley, 1914, fig. XXII:14-15; XXIII:17)
 carinated vessels (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:6, 16, 18)
- MW jar with out-turned rim (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:9)
 Syrian Bottles (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:12)
 bottles with narrow necks (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:13-14)
 small jars (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII:10-11, 15, 17)

⁶³ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 369, 383-387.

⁶⁴ C.L. Woolley, 1914, pp. 91-92, pl. XXIII:1-21. Salvage excavations have recently resumed at Amarna, see Ö. Tunca (ed.), 1992, pp. 14-46.

HAMMAM SAGHIR *Graves*⁶⁵

- PSW goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:6)
 teapots with short spouts and rounded bases (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:4)
 teapots with long spouts (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:3)
 bowls with applied cylindrical tripod feet (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:12-13)
 jars with applied cylindrical tripod feet (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:10-11)
 carinated vessels (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:7)
 vessels with tubular vertical handles which are vertically pierced (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:9)
- RBW jars with out-turned rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXII:1)
 vessels with pedestal bases (Woolley, 1914, fig. XXII:2)

TELL AHMAR *Hypogeum*⁶⁶

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXI:10,16)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXI:9-12)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXI:17-18)
 jars with out-turned rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXII:12,15, XXIII:1-4)
 goblets with corrugated surfaces (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XX:3-12)
 bowls with vertical rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXI:19-20)
 jars with grooved rims (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXII:13-14)
 bowls & jars with tripod feet (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXIV:15-17; XXV:1-8)
 teapots with long spouts and ring bases (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXIV:6-13)
 jars with rounded bases and two loop handles (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXVI:1)
 jugs with handles and/or spouts (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXV:11-13; XXVI:2-3)
 cups and jars with short and long stem bases (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXIII:15-20; XXIV:1-5)
 sieves (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXVI:8)
 multiple joined bowls (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXV:9-10)
 bowls with cylindrical handles (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXVI:6-7)
 ornamental vessels (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pl. XXVII:1-4)
- RBW jars with out-turned rims and pedestal bases (Thureau-Dangin, *et al.*, 1936, fig. 29)
- MW bowls and jars (Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, p. 106)

⁶⁵ C.L. Woolley, 1914, p. 90.⁶⁶ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, pp. 96-119.

QARA QOSAQ *Tomb & Trench B Locus 1-3*⁶⁷

- PSW bowls with in-turned rims (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 7-8,10)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 4,6)
 jars with out-turned rims (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 12-13)
 goblets with corrugated surfaces (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 2)
 bowls with vertical rims (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXV:b)
 bowls with applied cylindrical tripod feet (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXV:b)
 bowls with pedestal bases (Woolley, 1914, pl. XXV:b)
 jars with grooved rims (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 9)
 jars with band rims (Del Olmo Lete, 1990, fig. 1)

TELL EL-BANAT *Square 0704 Sounding C*⁶⁸

- PSW hemispherical bowls thickened rims (McClellan, forthcoming)
 MW bowl with tripod feet (McClellan, forthcoming)

EL-QITAR *Tomb 1*⁶⁹

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:16)
 bowls with in-turned rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:9)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:8)
 jars with out-turned rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:1)
 goblets with corrugated surfaces (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:22)
 bowls with vertical rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:2)
 jars with grooved rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:24)
 teapots (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:4)
 fragment of a tripod vessel (Sagona, 1986, fig. 2:18)
 THCPW jars with triangular handles (Sagona, 1986, fig. 3:12)
 RBW two narrow necked fragments and a sherd of a globular jar (Sagona, 1986, fig. 3:8-9,11)
 MW bowls with vertical rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 3:5)
 jars with out-turned rims (Sagona, 1986, fig. 3:1)
 Syrian Bottles (Sagona, 1986, fig. 3:2)

TELL SWEYHAT *Area III & Area IV*⁷⁰

- PSW bowls with in-turned rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:5)
 hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Holland, 1977, fig. 2:10)
 jars with out-turned rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 13:2)
 goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:18)
 bowls with vertical rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:10)
 jars with grooved rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 11:10)
 jars with band rims (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:20)
 jars with round bases and two loop handles (Holland, 1976, fig. 13:1)

⁶⁷ C.L. Woolley, 1914, p. 92; G. Del Olmo Lete, 1989, pp. 269-277; G. Del Olmo Lete *et al.*, 1990, pp. 5-20.

⁶⁸ T.L. McClellan, (forthcoming).

⁶⁹ A. Sagona, 1986, pp. 107-119.

⁷⁰ T.A. Holland, 1976, p. 51; T.A. Holland, 1977, p. 43.

- sieves (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:31)
- vessels with pedestal bases (Holland, 1976, fig. 9:43)
- large storage jars (Holland, 1976, fig. 13:2)
- THCPW jars with triangular handles (Holland, 1976, fig. 8:8)

TELL HADIDI *Area R II Stratum 3 & Tombs E1, L1, 1972*⁷¹

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 20:18)
- bowls with in-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 16:3,5)
- hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:1-6; 15:31-33)
- jars with out-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:21-24; 17:1-2, 4-6, 9-13,16; 18:1-4; 19:27-34)
- goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:14-15)
- goblets with plain surfaces and flat bases (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 15:27-29)
- bowls with vertical rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:7-9; 16:14-19; 19:11-13)
- jars with band rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 16:22)
- jars with grooved rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 14:1-4; 18:5-8)
- teapots (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 14:5-8; 18:9-13,15-16)
- jars with two loop handles (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 17:14)
- sieves (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 16:20-21)
- vessels with tripod feet (Dornemann, 1979, fig. 17:3)
- vessels with pedestal bases (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:10-12; 16:24-25,26-27)
- RBW jars with out-turned rims (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 20:36-37)
- vessels with pedestal bases (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 13:16-18)
- MW jars with out-turned rims, rounded, flat and ring bases (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 15:2-16)
- Syrian Bottles (Dornemann, 1988, fig. 15:18)

TELL AL-'ABD *Level II*⁷²

- PSW goblets with corrugated surfaces (Bounni, 1979, p. 51)
- bowls with vertical rims (Bounni, 1979, p. 51)

TELL MUNBAQA *Kuppe (high mound), Room 17 Quadrat 30/31
Room VIII Quadrat 30/29 & 30-31/30-31*⁷³

- PSW hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Werner, 1986, fig. 12:20)
- jars with out-turned rims (Werner, 1986, fig. 14:1)
- goblets with corrugated surfaces (Werner, 1986, fig. 12:1)
- bowls with vertical rims (Werner, 1986, fig. 12:17)
- vessels with pedestal bases (Werner, 1986, fig. 14:4)
- THCPW jars with triangular handles (Werner, 1986, fig. 13:2)

⁷¹ R.H. Dornemann, 1979, p. 118; R.H. Dornemann, 1988, pp. 26-38.

⁷² A. Bounni, 1979, p. 50.

⁷³ P. Werner, 1986, pp. 67-146; Ö. Tezeren, 1987, pp. 90-92.

Other occurrences of Painted Simple Ware (Tezeren, 1987, pp. 90-92)

HABUBA KABIRA *North Mound Levels 4-3 & Level 5/6 & South Mound Burials*⁷⁴

- PSW goblets with corrugated surfaces (Strommenger, 1969, fig. 12:b)
bowls with vertical rims (Strommenger, 1970, fig. 12:f)
jars with grooved rims (Strommenger, 1970, fig. 12:b)
jars with band rims (Strommenger, 1969, fig. 19:2)
teapots (Sürenhagen, 1973, fig. 11)
hemispherical bowls with thickened rims and tripod feet (Sürenhagen, 1973, fig. 11)
RBW jars with out-turned rims (Sürenhagen, 1973, fig. 11)
MW Syrian Bottle (Strommenger, 1970, fig. 12:d)

TELL KANNÂS *Settlement & Tombs*⁷⁵

- PSW jars with out-turned rims (Trokay, 1983, fig. 43)
teapots (Trokay, 1983, fig. 46)
sieves (Trokay, 1983, fig. 66-67)
THCPW jars with triangular handles (personal communication G. Bunnens)

HALAWA *Level 5 Tell A Excavation T, Level 3 Tell A Excavation Q, Grave H-119*⁷⁶

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Orthmann, 1989, fig. 24:7)
bowls with in-turned rims (Orthmann, 1989, fig. 64:1; 24:6)
hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 65:63)
jars with out-turned rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 66:80)
goblets with corrugated surfaces (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 65:64)
bowls with vertical rims (Orthmann, 1989, fig. 24:2; 66:67)
jars with grooved rims (Orthmann, 1989, fig. 66:30; 67:87)
jars with band rims (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 65:57)
jars with two loop handles (Orthmann, 1981, fig. 67:91)
bowls with tripod bases (Orthmann, 1989, fig. 24:2)

TAWI *Graves T6, T9, T16, T23*⁷⁷

- PSW open bowls with plain rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 5:1)
bowls with in-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 5:3)
hemispherical bowls with thickened rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 5:13)
jars with out-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 8:65)
vessels with pedestal bases (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 6:28)
goblets with corrugated surfaces (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 30:A5)
bowls with vertical rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 5:23)

⁷⁴ E. Strommenger, 1969, pp. 54-59; E. Strommenger, 1970, pp. 45-51; D. Sürenhagen, 1973, pp. 33-38.

⁷⁵ M. Trokay, 1983/a, p. 105; M. Trokay, 1983/b, pp. 112-117.

⁷⁶ W. Orthmann *et al.*, 1981, pp. 10-35, 55-56.

⁷⁷ I. Kampschulte & W. Orthmann, 1984, pp. 13-29, 63-65.

	jars with grooved rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 9:77)
	jars with band rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 28:2; 6:48)
	sieves (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 6:27)
	bowls with tripod feet (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 6:26)
THCPW	jars with triangular handles (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 7:57-58,60-61)
RBW	jars with out-turned rims (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 10:95)
MW	Syrian Bottles (Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 11:107)

TELL SELENKAHIYE *Southern Area Phases (I-V)⁷⁸*

PSW	goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases (Meijer, 1980, fig. 3:d)
	bowls with vertical rims (Meijer, 1980, fig. 3:a)
	jars with grooved rims (Meijer, 1980, fig. 3:b)
	teapots (Meijer, 1980, fig. 3:c)

Stratigraphic Correlations

Horizon 1A is characterised by the disappearance of chaff-tempered wares and Late Uruk ceramic indicators which are replaced by the increasing use of grit-tempered Plain Simple Ware. The most distinctive new Plain Simple Ware types of this horizon are represented by the cups with "S"-shaped profiles, vessels with pedestal bases and bowls or cups with long stem bases. The Cooking Pot Ware and Late Reserved-Slip Ware traditions are less frequent, but are consistently present.

The presence of cups with "S"-shaped profiles; vessels with pedestal bases; bowls with tall stem bases together with Late Reserved-Slip Ware provide specific ceramic attributes which enable the correlation of the following site sequences in the middle and upper Euphrates Valley:

<i>Kurban Höyük</i>	<i>Area CO1</i>	<i>Period VB</i>
<i>Hassek Höyük</i>	<i>Hügelplateau</i>	<i>Levels 3-4</i>
<i>Hayaç Höyük</i>	<i>Square FG</i>	<i>Levels 4-6</i>
<i>Carchemish</i>	<i>Burials</i>	<i>KCG 13</i>
<i>Kara Hasan</i>	<i>Burial</i>	
<i>Tell Abmar</i>	<i>Area A (1988)</i>	<i>Strata A-D</i>
<i>Tell Sweyhat</i>	<i>Area A II</i>	<i>Phases A-F</i>
<i>Tell Hadidi</i>	<i>Area RII</i>	<i>Stratum 1 Levels 1-4</i>
<i>Tell Munbaqa</i>	<i>Steinbau I</i>	<i>Level 4</i>
<i>Habuba Kabira</i>	<i>North</i>	<i>Levels 2-6</i>
<i>Halawa</i>	<i>Tell B</i>	<i>Levels 1-2</i>

⁷⁸ M.N. Van Loon, 1979, pp. 97-112; D.J.W. Meijer, 1980, pp. 117-126, 122-123.

It is apparent from the stratigraphic evidence that the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in the middle and upper Euphrates valley followed closely upon the collapse of the expansion phase of the Late Uruk period. The depth of deposits at such sites as Kurban Höyük, Hassek Höyük, Tell Sweyhat, Tell Hadidi, and Halawa, where a number of occupational phases have been recovered, suggests that the sequence was relatively brief. Ceramic parallels to specific types in contemporary assemblages elsewhere allow the horizon 1A sequence to be correlated in broad terms with archaeological developments across northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia and south-eastern Anatolia.

The horizon 1A assemblage of the Euphrates valley has few parallels with the assemblages of sites along the eastern branches of the upper Habur and upper Tigris river basins, where the Ninevite V material culture appears to be centred.⁷⁹ This development is best represented by the sites of Tell Leilan (Operation 1/Period III)⁸⁰ and Tell Brak (Area CH/Latest Uruk).⁸¹ Similar ceramic assemblages are found in the middle Habur salvage area at Tell Barri (Area B/West Slope),⁸² Tell al-Raqa'i (Level 3),⁸³ and Tell Mashnaqa (Chantier A/Niveaux 5-2).⁸⁴ The only similarities between the Habur region and the Euphrates valley is limited to common types within the Plain Simple Ware tradition.

Along the Balikh valley materials of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age have been excavated at Tell Hammam et-Turkman (Hammam Period VI East).⁸⁵ Operations on the eastern slope of the mound in Squares AG 16 and AG 17 have yielded six strata (VI:1-6). The predominantly Chaff-Faced Simple Ware of Hammam V is replaced by the use of Plain Simple Ware in Hammam VI. Temporal indicators such as cups with "S"-shaped profiles are found at Hammam et-Turkman and represent a common element with the Euphrates

⁷⁹ G.M. Schwartz, 1985, pp. 53-70; M. Roaf & R. Killick, 1987, pp. 199-230; M.R. Behm-Blancke, 1988, pp. 159-172; E. Rova, 1988.

⁸⁰ H. Weiss, 1983, pp. 39-52; G.M. Schwartz, 1988.

⁸¹ J. Oates, 1986, pp. 245-273; J. Oates, 1990, pp. 133-147. See also K. Fielden, 1981.

⁸² R. Biscione, 1982, pp. 45-54.

⁸³ H.H. Curvers, 1987, pp. 1-29; H.H. Curvers & G.M. Schwartz, 1990, pp. 3-23; G.M. Schwartz & H.H. Curvers, 1992, pp. 397-419.

⁸⁴ J.-Y. Monchambert, 1985, pp. 219-250; J.-Y. Monchambert, 1987, pp. 47-78.

⁸⁵ H.H. Curvers, 1988, pp. 35-396; H.H. Curvers, 1989, pp. 173-193, 179-184; H.H. Curvers, 1991, 75-96.

valley.⁸⁶ Regional ceramic features like Reserved-Slip Ware however, are not reported at Hammam et-Turkman.

Downstream on the Euphrates at Mari the stratigraphic results from the excavations on the northern slope of the mound (Chantier B) have yielded 18 strata. Some correlations may be observed in Levels 10-18 such as core types within the Plain Simple Ware tradition and cups with "S"-shaped profiles which suggest common elements with the sites further north.⁸⁷ Several fragments of Ninevite V Ware were found in Levels 12 and 10 however, which suggest a closer connection with the sites in the Habur plains.

Towards the west a number of ceramic parallels may be drawn between the Euphrates valley horizon 1A assemblage and the north-central inland region of Syria around Aleppo where a survey in the Qoueiq river region has indicated the presence of Reserved-Slip Ware.⁸⁸

Some surface finds of Reserved-Slip Ware have also been found at Tell Mardikh.⁸⁹ The stratified early levels at Tell Mardikh have still yet to be excavated. At the Orontes valley site of Hama levels K:6 to K:1 are characterised by the presence of Red-Black Burnished Ware and Bevelled-Rim Bowls.⁹⁰ The recently published Hama material by I. Thuesen of periods M, L and K from the remains of sounding G11X and the corresponding levels in square H-III represent a continuous habitation from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age. Thuesen states that the architecture and objects indicate a three part division for the Period K materials (K:8-10, K:5-7, K:1-4) which are closely related to the coastal and Amuq traditions (Phases F, G, H).⁹¹ On the basis of ceramic parallels with Amuq G (see below) this would correlate Hama K:5-7 with horizon 1A in the Euphrates valley.

The presence of Late Reserved-Slip Ware and "S"-shaped cups equate the assemblage of Phase G in the Amuq Plain with horizon 1A in the middle and upper Euphrates valley.⁹² In addition to the Plain Simple and Reserved-Slip Wares Amuq G is characterised by

⁸⁶ H.H. Curvers, 1988, pl. 112:18.

⁸⁷ M. Lebeau, 1985, pp. 93-126; M. Lebeau, 1987, pp. 415-442.

⁸⁸ J. Mellaart, 1981, pp. 154-157, map XX.

⁸⁹ G. Castellino *et al.*, 1966, pl. LXXXIV:5.

⁹⁰ H. Ingholt, 1940, pp. 16-29; E. Fugmann, 1958, pp. 24-48.

⁹¹ I. Thuesen, 1988, pp. 94-185.

⁹² R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 268, 275-277, fig. 203:5; 206:4-6; 218:1-12; 219:1-3.

Incised and Impressed Ware, Multiple-Brush Painted Ware and small quantities of Red-Black Burnished Ware which appears toward the end of Phase G. These latter wares represent features of a coastal regional tradition.

At Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast remains have been found on the northern slope of the Acropolis and in a sounding. The pottery from these levels has been divided into three phases (IIIA₁, IIIA₂, IIIA₃).⁹³ The lower levels of Ras Shamra IIIA₁ included cups with "S"-shaped profiles among other Plain Simple Ware types. Like the Amuq, Red-Black Burnished Ware is also found at Ras Shamra in IIIA₁, suggesting a different regional orientation from that found in the Euphrates valley.

In the Malatya region of south-east Anatolia excavations at Arslantepe on the south-west area of the site have produced a stratigraphic sequence which documents a series of successive ceramic horizons.⁹⁴ Close parallels may be drawn between the Plain Simple Ware and Late Reserved-Slip Ware components of the Period VIB assemblage at Arslantepe and horizon 1A in the middle and upper Euphrates valley. Common Plain Simple Ware types are the cups with "S"-shaped profiles; hemispherical bowls with thickened rims; small bowls with in-turned rims and jars with restricted necks and out-turned rims. Late Reserved-Slip Ware is found mainly on jars with out-turned rims at Arslantepe.

Connections may also be noted east of the Malatya area where Late Reserved-Slip Ware and "S"-shaped cups are found in the sequences of Norsuntepe (Area K/L 19 & J/K 18, 19),⁹⁵ Tepecik (Area 14-3 K),⁹⁶ and Taskun Mevkii (Area J 11 & K 10-11, Phases 1-4).⁹⁷ These sites however, are also characterised by the presence of Red-Black Burnished Ware.⁹⁸ This later ceramic tradition does not appear in any significant quantity in the assemblages of sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley.

⁹³ J.-CL. Courtois, 1962, pp. 330-414; H. De Contenson, 1969, pp. 43-89; H. De Contenson, 1979, pp. 857-862; H. De Contenson, 1982, pp. 95-98.

⁹⁴ A. Palmieri, 1981, pp. 101-119; A. Palmieri, 1985, pp. 191-192.

⁹⁵ H. Hauptmann, 1972, pp. 103-122; H. Hauptmann, 1979, pp. 66-78; H. Hauptmann, 1982, pp. 41-70.

⁹⁶ U. Esin, 1976, pp. 109-146; U. Esin, 1979, pp. 97-114; U. Esin, 1982, pp. 13-21.

⁹⁷ S. Helms, 1971, pp. 8-10, fig. 2:1-19; S. Helms, 1972, pp. 15-17; S. Helms, 1973, pp. 109-120, fig. 9.

⁹⁸ I.A. Todd, 1973, pp. 181-206; M. Kelly-Buccellati, 1979, pp. 413-430.

Based on the above mentioned ceramic evidence it is possible to make the following stratigraphic correlations:

Coastal and Inland Syria

<i>Amuq</i>	<i>JK3:20-12</i> <i>TT 20XV & XIV 1-3</i>	<i>Phase G</i>
<i>Ras Shamra</i>	<i>Northern Slope Acropolis</i>	<i>Level IIIA1</i>
<i>Hama</i>	<i>Period K</i> <i>(GIIx H-III)</i>	<i>Levels 5-7</i>
<i>River Quneiq</i>	<i>Survey Material</i>	<i>G Wares</i>

Malatya Region South-east Anatolia

<i>Tepecik</i>	<i>Area 14-3 K</i>	<i>"EBA"</i>
<i>Taskun Mevkii</i>	<i>Area A J 11, K 10-11</i>	<i>Phases 1B</i>
<i>Norsuntepe</i>	<i>Area K/L 19 & J/K 18, 19</i>	<i>Level XXVI-VVIX</i>
<i>Arslantepe</i>	<i>Area S/W</i> <i>A 160, Bld. V, VI-IX, X, A 69</i>	<i>Period VIB</i>

Balikh Valley, Habur Plains and Lower Euphrates Valley

<i>Hammam et-Turkman</i>	<i>Area AG 16/17</i>	<i>Hammam East VI:1-3</i>
<i>Tell Leilan</i>	<i>Operation 1</i>	<i>Period III a-b:39-21</i>
<i>Tell Brak</i>	<i>Area TW</i> <i>Area CH</i>	<i>"Latest Uruk"</i> <i>Levels 6-8</i>
<i>Tell Barri</i>	<i>Area B</i>	<i>Upper/Lower Horizon</i>
<i>Tell al-Raqa'i</i>	<i>Levels 3</i>	
<i>Tell Mashnaga</i>	<i>Chantier A</i>	<i>Levels 2-5</i>
<i>Mari</i>	<i>Chantier B</i>	<i>Couche 18-10</i>

Horizon 1B is distinguished mainly by the appearance of the greenish coloured Plain Simple Ware and new types such as cyma-recta cups. There were no significant changes observed in the Cooking Pot Ware or Reserved-Slip Ware traditions, except that the latter appears less frequently.

The changes in the Plain Simple Ware tradition can be related stratigraphically to the following Euphrates valley sites:

<i>Kurban Höyük</i>	<i>Area CO1</i>	<i>Period VA</i>
<i>Hassek Höyük</i>	<i>Area S D 18</i>	<i>Levels 1-2</i>
<i>Hayaş Höyük</i>	<i>Square FG</i>	<i>Level 3</i>
<i>Tell Hadidi</i>	<i>Area RII</i>	<i>Stratum 2 Level 1</i>

The middle and upper Euphrates valley horizon 1B assemblage finds few parallels with the sites of Tell Leilan and Tell Brak in the Habur plains, where the Ninevite V material culture remains the dominant ceramic feature. A notable exception to this pattern, however, is the presence of two cyma-recta cups made of a high fired greenish clay in Grave 65 associated with Level 5 of Area B.D. at Chagar Bazar on the upper Habur river.⁹⁹

In the Balikh valley at Hammam et-Turkman no cyma-recta cups were found in the Period VI East assemblage.¹⁰⁰

The presence of cyma-recta cups in levels excavated at Ashara (ancient Terqa), a site situated on the lower reaches of the Syrian Euphrates, suggests some similarity with the middle and upper Euphrates valley.¹⁰¹ The sequence at Mari (Chantier B, Couche 9-7) appears to be more closely related to the sequences in the Habur plains.¹⁰²

At Qal'at el-Mudiq in the Orontes valley a number of cyma-recta cups were found in association with several burials in Squares A2 and A3.¹⁰³ The numerous ware and type parallels, particularly the presence of cyma-recta type cups equate horizon 1B with Phase H in the Amuq plain.¹⁰⁴ Amuq H however, is defined ceramically as beginning with the appearance of a large percentage of Red-Black Burnished Ware.¹⁰⁵ Red-Black Burnished Ware is also present in the Period K:1-4 levels at Hama¹⁰⁶ and in the upper floor level of period IIIA1 at Ras Shamra.¹⁰⁷

On the basis of the above mentioned ceramic evidence it is possible to make the following stratigraphic correlations:

Coastal and Inland Syria

<i>Amuq</i>	<i>Chatal Höyük W 16</i>	<i>Phase H</i>
	<i>Judaïdah JK 3:12-7, TT 20 XIV 4</i>	
	<i>Ta'yinat T 4:9-6</i>	
<i>Ras Shamra</i>	<i>Northern Slope Acropolis</i>	<i>Level IIIA1</i>

⁹⁹ M.E.L. Mallowan, 1936, pp. 1-86, fig. 10, 16, 17.

¹⁰⁰ H.H. Curvers, 1988, p. 358.

¹⁰¹ G. Buccellati *et al.*, 1979, pp. 71-73, figs. 20-21.

¹⁰² M. Lebeau, 1985, pp. 93-95.

¹⁰³ D. Collon *et al.*, 1975, pp. 107-158, pl. XLVII-LXVI.

¹⁰⁴ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 345-371, fig. 269:9-10; 271:2.

¹⁰⁵ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 345, 350, 358-368.

¹⁰⁶ E. Fugmann, 1958, pp. 37-48.

¹⁰⁷ H. De Contenson, 1969, p. 76; H. De Contenson, 1979, pp. 857-858.

<i>Hama</i>	<i>Period K</i>	<i>Levels 4-1</i>
	<i>(G11x & H-111)</i>	
<i>Qal'at el-Mudiq</i>	<i>Squares A2-3</i>	<i>Graves</i>

Balikh Valley, Habur Plains and Lower Euphrates Valley

<i>Hammam et-Turkman</i>	<i>East Slope</i>	<i>Hammam East VI:4-5</i>
<i>Tell Leilan</i>	<i>Operation 1</i>	<i>Period III c:20-18</i>
	<i>44W/X12</i>	<i>Period III d:17-15</i>
	<i>Operation 2</i>	
	<i>Operation 57F02</i>	
	<i>Lower Town South</i>	<i>Test Trenches</i>
	<i>76F19, 76E20, 77E01</i>	
<i>Tell Brak</i>	<i>Area CH</i>	<i>Levels 6-8</i>
<i>Chagar Bazgar</i>	<i>Area B.D.</i>	<i>Grave 65</i>
<i>Mari</i>	<i>Chantier B</i>	<i>Couche 9-7</i>
<i>Terqa</i>	<i>City Wall</i>	<i>"ED I/II"</i>

Horizon 2A is characterised by a number of significant changes in both the ceramic and stratigraphic evidence. New types appeared in the Plain Simple Ware tradition, the most distinctive of which was the conical cup with corrugated surfaces. The Cooking Pot Ware also differed from that of the preceding horizons, characteristically by the addition of triangular handles. Furthermore, a range of new and more specialised fabric types appeared for the first time and included Horizontal Reserved-Slip Ware, Red Banded Ware, Karababa Painted Ware, Comb Wash Ware and Metallic Ware. The appearance of these features corresponded with the expansion of settlement size and the construction of city walls and fortifications at the Euphrates valley sites of Kurban Höyük and Tell Hadidi.¹⁰⁸

The occurrence of these features may be stratigraphically related to the following Euphrates sites:

<i>Kurban Höyük</i>	<i>Area A, F, CO1</i>	<i>Period IV</i>
<i>Hayaz Höyük</i>	<i>Square FG</i>	<i>Level 1-2</i>
<i>Tell el-Banat</i>	<i>Sounding A</i>	<i>Stratum 2</i>
<i>Tell Hadidi</i>	<i>Stratum 2</i>	<i>Level 2-4</i>
<i>Tell al-'Abd</i>	<i>Area K6-11, L11, 111, J14</i>	<i>Level III</i>
<i>Halawa</i>	<i>Graves</i>	<i>H-56, 70, 123</i>
<i>Tawi</i>	<i>Graves</i>	<i>T1-5, 19-22, 25, 27, 70-71</i>

¹⁰⁸ G. Algaze (ed.), 1990, pp. 343-350, 427-429; R.H. Dornemann, 1988, pp. 26-38.

The presence of Horizontal Reserved-Slip Ware, Plain Simple Ware conical cups and Triangular Handle Cooking Pot Ware relate Amuq I with the horizon 2A period in the Euphrates valley.¹⁰⁹ In addition, Cooking Pots with triangular handles were noted in the surface survey of the river Qoueiq region.¹¹⁰

Parallels may also be drawn with Tell Mardikh. The ceramic assemblage of Mardikh IIB 1, represented by the destruction level of Palace G, exhibits a number of similarities with the horizon 2A repertoire in the Euphrates valley.¹¹¹ Among the common wares in both assemblages are Plain Simple Ware, Horizontally Reserved-Slip Ware and Comb Wash Ware. Important differences do exist however, between the horizon 2A and Mardikh IIB 1 assemblages. Of special interest is the absence at Mardikh of a number of fabric types that are common in the Euphrates valley area. Karababa Painted Ware, Red Banded Ware and Metallic Ware are not well represented west of the Euphrates river. Another important difference between the Mardikh assemblage and that of the Euphrates valley 2A horizon is the presence at Ebla of the distinctive goblets with corrugated surfaces, a type which is not attested in the Euphrates valley until the following 2B horizon.

Recently published pottery from Tell Mardikh has provided an assemblage which is chronologically earlier than the Mardikh Palace G IIB 1 material.¹¹² This pottery derives from the "*livello inferiore al settore nord dell'unità ovest del Complesso Centrale*" and has been labelled "BA IVA1" by Mazzonei. This assemblage contains Plain Simple Ware conical cups with corrugated surfaces which are one of the most distinctive types of the middle and upper Euphrates valley 2A horizon.¹¹³ This may suggest that the Mardikh IIB 1 assemblage is better paralleled with horizon 2B in the Euphrates valley (see below).

At Hama a small conical shaped cup with corrugated surface was found in Level J:8.¹¹⁴ The later levels at Hama are dominated by the presence of barrel-shaped, corrugated goblets with ring bases which are best correlated with horizon 2B in the middle and upper Euphrates valley.

¹⁰⁹ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 406-413, fig. 315:3-5.

¹¹⁰ J. Mellaart, 1981, pp. 154-156, fig. 161-162.

¹¹¹ P. Matthiae, 1978, pp. 13-40; P. Matthiae, 1980, pp. 95-105; P. Matthiae, 1982, pp. 77-91; S. Mazzonei, 1985/a, pp. 1-18.

¹¹² S. Mazzonei, 1991, pp. 163-194.

¹¹³ S. Mazzonei, 1991, fig. 7:3,6; fig. 8:2.

¹¹⁴ E. Fugmann, 1958, fig. 58:3K243.

In the Balikh and western Habur river regions the ceramic repertoire from the Deep Sounding at Harran and Tell Chuera assemblage published by H. Kühne both contain attributes similar to those found in the Euphrates valley.¹¹⁵

The pottery region described by L. Thissen, based on the evidence from the debris layers, city wall rooms and first burnt level at Hammam et-Turkman, appears to share a number of similarities with the middle and upper Euphrates valley 2A horizon.¹¹⁶ This pottery is characterised by goblets with rounded bases; conical cups and jars with rounded bases. Other less frequent but consistently present wares and types are hand-made cooking pots with triangular handles, Metallic Ware conical cups and small bowls and examples of Red Banded Ware and Comb Wash Ware.

Excavations at Tell Bi'a, a site in the lower Balikh valley, has also yielded Plain Simple Ware goblets with round bases.¹¹⁷ Other pottery from several burials at Tell Bi'a included goblets with plain rims and round bases and sherds of Comb Wash Ware.¹¹⁸

At Tell Leilan Period IIId represents the terminal strata of the Ninevite V ceramic period. Period IIa marks by definition a major break from the ceramic traditions of Leilan III. Ninevite V ware disappears and new wares, shapes and production techniques dominate ceramic production. Period II is distinguished by the preponderance of Fine "Clinky" (Metallic) Ware. Leilan Period IIa/b represents a period of urbanised expansion in the Habur plains. According to the calibrated radiocarbon 14 evidence Leilan Period II must be dated to after 2500 B.C.¹¹⁹

Level 6 at Tell Brak, like Period IIa at Tell Leilan, contained no Ninevite V Ware, indicating that this period is later than that tradition. The ceramic assemblage of Level 6 is characterised by flat based, sloping sided Plain Simple Ware bowls, which are completely absent in the middle and upper Euphrates valley. The presence of Metallic Ware and Triangular Handle Cooking Pots however, provide some connective elements.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ K. Prag, 1970; H. Kühne, 1976.

¹¹⁶ L.C. Thissen, 1989, pp. 204-206, figs. 2-4.

¹¹⁷ E. Strommenger *et al.*, 1987, pp. 41-43.

¹¹⁸ A. Becker & K. Kohlmeyer, 1984, pp. 58-63, figs. 34, 37.

¹¹⁹ H. Weiss, 1990/a, pp. 387-407; H. Weiss, 1990/b, pp. 193-218.

¹²⁰ D. Oates, 1982, pp. 191-194; J. Oates, 1982, pp. 205-219.

The assemblages from Tell Raqa'i (Level 2),¹²¹ Tell Melebiya (Chantier B Levels 2-3)¹²² and Tell Bderi (Area 2965 & 2963)¹²³ are characterised by the presence of Metallic Ware and cooking pots with triangular handles. No Plain Simple Ware conical cups or round based goblets are found at these middle Habur valley sites. Instead the typical bowls are characterised by plain rims, sloping sides and flat bases which can be related to similar vessels found at Tell Brak and Tell Leilan.

Several Red Banded Ware jars with out-turned rims occur in the Ishtar Temple assemblage at Mari,¹²⁴ however Levels 3-6 of the deep sounding at Mari are characterised by flat-based plain rim bowls with sloping sides which parallel similar vessels found in the Habur plains.¹²⁵

The above mentioned ceramic evidence allows the following stratigraphic correlations:

Coastal and Inland Syria

<i>Amuq</i>	<i>Chatal Höyük W 16:4-3, V 16</i>	<i>Phase I</i>
	<i>Tell al-Judaïdah JK 3:6</i>	
	<i>Tell Ta'yinat T 4:5-2, T8:8-5, T1:6-4</i>	
<i>Ras Shamra</i>	<i>North Slope Acropolis</i>	<i>Level IIIA 2</i>
<i>Tell Mardikh</i>	<i>Palace G</i>	<i>Mardikh IIB 1</i>
	<i>Complesso Centrale</i>	<i>"BA IVA1"</i>
<i>Hama</i>	<i>Period J</i>	<i>Level 8</i>
<i>River Qoueig</i>	<i>Survey</i>	<i>H Wares</i>

Balikh Valley, Habur Plains and Lower Euphrates Valley

<i>Hamam et-</i>	<i>City Wall Rooms</i>	<i>First Burnt Level</i>
<i>Turkman</i>	<i>Debris Layers</i>	
<i>Harran</i>	<i>Deep Sounding</i>	<i>Levels II-III</i>
<i>Tell Chuera</i>	<i>Kleiner Antentemple</i>	<i>Levels 4-6</i>
	<i>Steinbau I</i>	<i>Levels 7-6</i>
<i>Tell Bi'a</i>	<i>Burial</i>	
<i>Tell Leilan</i>	<i>44W12/X12</i>	<i>Period IIa:15-13</i>
	<i>Operation 1</i>	<i>Period IIa/b</i>
<i>Tell Brak</i>	<i>Area CH & ER</i>	<i>"ED III"</i>

¹²¹ H.H. Curvers, 1987; H.H. Curvers & G.M. Schwartz, 1990.

¹²² M. Lebeau *et al.*, 1985, pp. 1-31; M. Lebeau *et al.*, 1986, pp. 1-49; M. Lebeau *et al.*, 1987, pp. 1-74; M. Lebeau *et al.*, 1989, pp. 1-31.

¹²³ P. Pfälzner, 1986-87/a, pp. 276-291; P. Pfälzner, 1986-87/b, pp. 292-303; P. Pfälzner *et al.*, 1988, pp. 223-386.

¹²⁴ A. Parrot, 1956, fig. 107:1548-49.

¹²⁵ M. Lebeau, 1985, pp. 93-95, pl. XI:1, 6-8.

<i>Tell al-Raqa'i</i>	<i>Step Trench 42/116</i>	<i>Level 2</i>
<i>Tell Melebiya</i>	<i>Area B</i>	<i>Level 6</i>
<i>Tell Bderi</i>	<i>Area 2963 & 2965</i>	
<i>Mari</i>	<i>Chantier B</i>	<i>Couche 6-3</i>

Horizon 2B is distinguished by the high degree of technical specialisation and the appearance of new types in the Plain Simple Ware tradition. The most characteristic new type is the goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases.

The 2B horizon may be stratigraphically identified at the following Euphrates sites:

<i>Kurban Höyük</i>	<i>Area A</i>	<i>Period III</i>
<i>Amarna</i>	<i>Burial</i>	
<i>Hammam Sagbir</i>	<i>Burial</i>	
<i>Tell Ahmar</i>	<i>Hypogeum</i>	
<i>Qara Qosaq</i>	<i>Burial</i>	
<i>el-Qitar</i>	<i>Burial</i>	<i>Tomb 1</i>
<i>Tell el-Banat</i>	<i>Sounding C</i>	<i>Square 0704</i>
<i>Tell Sweyhat</i>	<i>Areas III & IV</i>	
<i>Tell Hadidi</i>	<i>Stratum 3</i>	
	<i>Tombs</i>	<i>1972, EI, LI, K</i>
<i>Tell al-'Abd</i>	<i>Areas K6-11, L11, I11, J14</i>	<i>Level II</i>
<i>Tell Munbaqa</i>	<i>Kuppe</i>	<i>(high mound)</i>
<i>Habuba Kabira</i>	<i>Northern Slope</i>	<i>Levels 3-4</i>
<i>Tell Kannās</i>	<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Tombs</i>
<i>Halawa</i>	<i>Areas T, Q, L, X</i>	
	<i>Grave</i>	<i>H-119</i>
<i>Tawi</i>	<i>Graves</i>	<i>T-6, 9, 16, 23</i>
<i>Tell Selenkahiye</i>		<i>Phases I-V</i>

The pottery from the Area IV building at Tell Sweyhat included the main shapes typical of horizon 2B. An inscribed one mina weight found in the room of the Area IV structure at Sweyhat is datable to the Ur III period on palaeographic grounds.¹²⁶ Clay figurines from Tell al-'Abd (Level II)¹²⁷ and cylinder seals from Tell Munbaqa (Kuppe)¹²⁸ and Tell Selenkahiye (Phases I-IV)¹²⁹ support an Akkadian and post Akkadian (Ur III) date for the horizon 2B assemblage.

¹²⁶ T.A. Holland, 1975, pp. 75-76.

¹²⁷ K. Toueir, 1978, pp. 59-93.

¹²⁸ K. Karstens, 1986, pp. 123-124, fig 30.

¹²⁹ M. Van Loon, 1979, p. 108, fig. 20-21.

The Euphrates valley horizon 2B assemblage shows some close connections with the Tell Mardikh IIB₁ assemblage, although it is possible that the latter is somewhat earlier since a number of parallels also may be drawn with horizon 2A. Mardikh IIB₁ is defined ceramically by the remains of the destruction of Palace G at Tell Mardikh an event which has been dated to the Akkadian period and attributed to the reign of Naram-Sin of Akkad (ca. 2340-2284 B.C.).¹³⁰ The transformation from Mardikh IIB₁ to IIB₂ is marked by the destruction of Palace G, but not by any real cultural development. The ceramic horizon of Mardikh IIB₂ is known from the quantities of material used in the construction of the ramparts of the city perimeter and characterised essentially by the appearance of Painted Simple Ware. The most usual form of this type of pottery is that of the goblet in which the corrugated surface prevalent during Mardikh IIB₁, becomes less frequent and is replaced by decoration painted in black or less often reddish brown, in fine parallel lines or wavy bands obtained by incising the surface after it has been coated with paint.¹³¹

Similar Painted Simple Ware goblets have been found at Tell Munbatah¹³² and in a tomb South-west of Aleppo at Ansari where part of a settlement has also been excavated.¹³³

The presence of corrugated goblets at Hama in the Period J:7-1 levels represents a similar chronological development. Like Tell Mardikh, Painted Simple Ware is a feature of the Period J levels at Hama.¹³⁴

Painted Simple Ware is also the dominant ceramic tradition at a number of sites investigated by R. du Mesnil du Buisson early this century in the Orontes valley. Several tombs were cleared and soundings made at the site of Qatna which yielded painted and unpainted corrugated goblets with applied ring bases.¹³⁵ A number of others sites and tombs in the environs of Qatna were also explored by du Mesnil du Buisson.¹³⁶ At Tell Masin soundings on the

¹³⁰ P. Matthiae, 1978, pp. 13-40; P. Matthiae, 1980, pp. 111-112; P. Matthiae, 1989, pp. 163-169.

¹³¹ S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, pp. 1-18.

¹³² A. De Maigret, 1974, pp. 261-262, figs. 6-16.

¹³³ A. Suleiman, 1984, pp. 1-16, pl. II:9-11.

¹³⁴ E. Fugmann, 1958, pp. 49-85, figs. 74, 86, 93, 98, 103, 106.

¹³⁵ R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 1935/a, pp. 111-120.

¹³⁶ R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 1927, pp. 13-33, 277-301; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 1930, pp. 146-163, pl. XXXVI:1-8; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 1932, pp. 71-88.

acropolis revealed four levels with large quantities of Painted Simple Ware and corrugated goblets.¹³⁷ The pottery from these sites is closely related to the Period J levels at Hama and Tell Mardikh IIB 2. The presence of Painted Simple Ware in this area represents a central and inland north Syrian ceramic tradition which is regionally distinct from that found in the middle and upper Euphrates valley.

In the Amuq goblets with corrugated surfaces and ring bases first appear at the end of Phase I. They are more characteristic however, of Phase J where they predominate over conical shaped cups. Other Plain Simple Ware types found in Amuq J which are also found in the middle and upper Euphrates valley are teapots, jars with grooved rims and sieves.¹³⁸ Both Painted Simple Ware and Smeared Wash Ware are typical features of Amuq J. These wares represent coastal and inland ceramic traditions which are absent in the Euphrates valley.

In the Balikh valley at Hammam et-Turkman the Period VI West assemblage is characterised by a strong emphasis on mass production and standardisation. Goblets with plain or beaded rims were found throughout all the Hammam VI West strata (West VI:1-6). Other Plain Simple Ware types from the Hammam VI West strata which are also common to the Euphrates valley include bowls with vertical rims, jars with band rims and jars with grooved rims.¹³⁹

Parallels with the Euphrates region may also be seen in the pottery from the lower Balikh valley site of Tell Bi'a. The graves U2 and U27 at Tell Bi'a contained jars with band rims, bowls with vertical rims and bowls with tripod feet.¹⁴⁰ In other graves (21/62:4 and 21/62:1) from Tell Bi'a the pottery consisted of Plain Simple Ware bowls with vertical rims, bowls with in-turned rims, jars with grooved rims and jars with band rims.¹⁴¹ The Tell Bi'a ceramics from the *Brunnenverfüllung* included goblets with plain surfaces, bowls with in-turned rims, bowls with vertical rims, jars with grooved rims, jars with band rims and large bowls with thickened rims. The graves at Tell Bi'a from the *Nordhang des Hügels* contained jars with grooved

¹³⁷ R. du Mesnil du Buisson, 1935/b, pp. 121-134.

¹³⁸ R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, 1960, pp. 396, 406-413, fig. 315:3-5, and pp. 429, 435-442, figs. 336-340.

¹³⁹ H.H. Curvers, 1988, pp. 374-383, pls. 117-122.

¹⁴⁰ A. Becker & K. Kolhmeyer, 1984, pp. 15-63, fig. 35-36.

¹⁴¹ K. Kolhmeyer, 1987, pp. 23-33, figs. 14-15.

rims, jars with band rims, bowls with vertical rims, goblets and jars with out-turned rims.¹⁴²

In the Habur plains at Tell Brak a large administrative building in Area CH was excavated by M. Mallowan in the 1930s.¹⁴³ Plain Simple Ware goblets and jars with two loop handles have been found at Tell Brak.¹⁴⁴ Bricks stamped with the name of Naram-Sin confirm the date of this building.¹⁴⁵ Renewed excavation in Area CH have yielded a series of occupation levels which can be related stratigraphically to the foundations of the Naram-Sin Palace (Levels 3-4).¹⁴⁶

The above mentioned evidence allows the following stratigraphic correlations:

Coastal and Inland Syria

<i>Amuq</i>	<i>Ta'yinat</i> T 4:1, T 8:4-3, T 13 <i>Chatal Höyük</i> W 16 <i>Judaïdah</i> TT 20	Phase J
<i>Ras Shamra</i>	<i>North Slope Acropolis</i>	Level III A 2-3
<i>Tell Mardikh</i>	<i>Palace G</i>	<i>Mardikh</i> IIB 1 <i>Mardikh</i> IIB 2
<i>Ansari</i>	<i>Tomb & Settlement</i>	
<i>Qatna</i>	<i>Tombs</i>	
<i>Tell Masin</i>	<i>Acropolis Levels</i>	
<i>Hama</i>	<i>Period J</i>	Levels 1-7

Balikh Valley, Habur Plains and Lower Euphrates Valley

<i>Hammam et-Turkman</i>	<i>Western Slope</i> I 23, J 23, O 16	Period VI:1-4 Period VI 5-6
<i>Tell Bi'a</i>	<i>Burials</i> <i>Graves</i> <i>Sounding C</i> <i>Brunnennerfüllung</i>	U ₂ & U ₇ (21/62:4 & 21/62:1)
<i>Tell Brak</i>	<i>Sargonid Houses</i> <i>Area CH</i>	Levels 3-4
<i>Mari</i>	<i>Chantier B</i>	Levels 1-2

¹⁴² C. Hemker, 1987, pp. 40-46, fig. 24.

¹⁴³ M.E.L. Mallowan, 1947.

¹⁴⁴ M.E.L. Mallowan, 1947, pp. 70-72, 226, 232, pl. LXXII:11, LXVIII:15.

¹⁴⁵ J. Oates, 1985, pp. 137-144.

¹⁴⁶ J. Oates, 1990, pp. 133-147.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EBA IN NORTH SYRIA

Despite the limitations of the ceramic evidence considered in this analysis, a number of interpretations may be offered for the third millennium period in the middle and upper Euphrates valley and the relationship of this locality with cultural developments in neighbouring north Syrian regions.

Present evidence indicates that during the first stages of the Early Dynastic period (ED I-II) in southern Mesopotamia large urban configurations were beginning to emerge in several areas of northern Syria where the economy was based on dry farming as opposed to the intensive river irrigation practised in the south.¹⁴⁷ This relatively stable period in north Syrian history is reflected by a diverse range of localised ceramic traditions.

In the Euphrates valley the ceramic horizon (1A) following the Late Uruk period was characterised by the Late Reserved-Slip Ware tradition. This ceramic horizon appears to be contemporary with both the Ninevite V assemblage in the Habur plains and along the upper Tigris and the Red-Black Burnished Ware tradition of south-eastern Anatolia, the Amuq plain and parts of north-western inland Syria. This diversity of regional ceramic traditions remains a feature of the north Syrian landscape, undergoing only slight modification (horizon 1B) until around the middle of the third millennium.

At present, the available evidence tends to support a theory of local evolution for these localised ceramic traditions. Ceramic traits characteristic of the Ninevite V period for example can already be identified in the preceding Late Uruk related assemblages, attesting to a continuity of material culture.¹⁴⁸ Late Reserved-Slip Ware and the related 1A horizon in the Euphrates valley represent a parallel development to that of the Ninevite V culture in the Habur plains. Late Reserved-Slip Ware developed directly out of the preceding Early or Pseudo Reserved-Slip Ware tradition and related Late Uruk period assemblage.

The significant changes which occur in the pottery assemblages throughout northern Syria with the disappearance of Late Reserved-

¹⁴⁷ H. Weiss (ed.), 1983, pp. 71-108; H. Weiss, 1990/a, pp. 387-407.

¹⁴⁸ G.M. Schwartz, 1985, p. 60.

Slip Ware in the Euphrates valley and Ninevite V Ware in the north-east, both of which are replaced by a range of different fabric types, indicate the beginning of a new period in the historical developments of northern Syria. The new features which occur in the pottery assemblages may be stratigraphically and chronologically related to the expansion of settlement size and the construction of city walls. Radiocarbon measurements from the excavations at Tell Leilan have provided an absolute date for these developments of ca. 2500 B.C.¹⁴⁹

The sequence yielded from the excavations at Tell Leilan indicates that the circumvallation of the site occurred after the period of urbanisation (Leilan Period IIIc/d). At Leilan Lower Town urbanisation occurred in the late Early Dynastic II-early Dynastic III times, without regional or inter-regional military threat. Circumvallation occurred in late Early Dynastic III-early Akkadian times in association with local or foreign aggression, which H. Weiss has suggested was perhaps a function of the synchronous centralisation of southern Mesopotamian state power in a qualitatively new form.¹⁵⁰

The observable changes in the configuration of settlements and ceramic assemblages in the Euphrates valley and northern Syria may, therefore, be chronologically related to those events in southern Mesopotamia which coincide with the end of the Early Dynastic period (*i.e.* ED III). At this time historical documents record that Ebla probably controlled all of north-western Syria from Hama in the south up to the Euphrates and Balikh rivers in the north.¹⁵¹ The city had close relations with other urban centres such as Mari along the middle to lower stretches of the Syrian Euphrates and with cities along the Tigris in northern Mesopotamia.¹⁵² The political power of Ebla, however, is understood to have been undermined by the southern Mesopotamian military expeditions of Sargon (2340-2284 B.C.) and his grandson Naram-Sin (2259-2223 B.C.) of Akkad. The destruction of the Tell Mardikh Royal Palace G and the remainder of the city are usually ascribed to the deeds of one of these two Akkadian kings in the reign of Ibbi-Zikir, the last Ebla king mentioned in the archives, around 2300 or 2250 B.C.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ H. Weiss, 1990/b, pp. 205-218; H. Weiss, 1990/c, pp. 159-166.

¹⁵⁰ H. Weiss, 1990/b, p. 213.

¹⁵¹ H. Klengel, 1992, pp. 25-31.

¹⁵² H. Klengel, 1992, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵³ H. Klengel, 1992, pp. 33-38.

S. Mazzone states that in the ceramic assemblage of Mardikh IIB there is a clear break that corresponds exactly to the destruction of Royal Palace G and separates the two phases, IIB 1 and IIB 2. According to Mazzone the ceramic horizon of the two phases is unified with the same types of pottery occurring in both phases with only slight variation.¹⁵⁴ Mardikh IIB 1 is described as being characterised by (Plain) Simple Ware goblets, bowls with folded-over rims, tripod bowls, sieves, teapots and cups with stem bases. Mardikh IIB 2 is distinguished by the presence of painted (Plain) Simple Ware and Smeared Wash Ware.¹⁵⁵ In general there is a substantial continuation of the forms and types of wares from the preceding phase.

The pottery of Mardikh IIB 1-2 is found in both phases as a single cultural unit, albeit one in gradual evolution, and is equated by Mazzone with the traditional EB IV A-B terminology respectively. According to Mazzone it is characterised by two phenomena: firstly, by the gap that separates it from the preceding ceramic tradition of Mardikh IIA (*i.e.* traditional EB III) and secondly, by the high degree of standardisation and the factory-made aspect of many types of ceramics which are distributed over a vast geographical area. The hypothesis of Mazzone, that the origin of the ceramic culture of Mardikh IIB 1-2 is linked with the great technological development which is tied to a general improvement in the economic conditions of the region, is indeed correct. Of similar value is the observation that during Mardikh IIB 1-2 regional patterning dissolves giving way to ceramic features that are found widely distributed throughout northern Syria.¹⁵⁶ There are, however, several issues raised by Mazzone's discussion of the Tell Mardikh IIB 1-2 ceramic corpus which are not entirely consistent with findings in the pottery horizons of the Euphrates valley and these require some further explanation.

Firstly, Mazzone is of the view that the workmanship of pre-Mardikh IIB period pottery (*i.e.* Mardikh IIA) is still in the post Chalcolithic tradition. Mazzone states that the ceramics of Mardikh IIA are characterised by impure pastes with apparent vegetal inclusions; by limited control over firing and by hand workmanship and artisan production.¹⁵⁷ Little is known, however, about this period at

¹⁵⁴ S. Mazzone, 1985/a, p. 1, fig. 2.

¹⁵⁵ S. Mazzone, 1985/a, pp. 2-9, fig. 6.

¹⁵⁶ S. Mazzone, 1985/a, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ S. Mazzone, 1985/a, p. 13.

Tell Mardikh.¹⁵⁸ On the basis of the evidence from the Euphrates valley the equivalent Mardikh IIA period is represented either by horizon 1B or horizon 2A depending upon whether Mardikh IIB 1 is correlated with horizon 2A or 2B in the Euphrates valley. On the basis of the present evidence the latter appears more likely. The Euphrates valley 1B and 2A ceramic horizons, however, are not characterised by features of the Chalcolithic tradition. Both horizons are more closely related to the technical transformations associated with horizon 2B. This finding suggests that the technical specialisation (standardisation and mass production) of the mid to late third millennium (Mardikh IIB 1-2) was not a sudden technical transformation as Mazzoni implies but rather one which gradually emerged from the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

Secondly, the technological break described by Mazzoni between Mardikh IIA and IIB must correspond with the same technical development observed between horizons 1B and 2A in the Euphrates valley. The correlation of this evidence suggests that Mardikh IIB 1 and horizon 2A are, therefore, contemporary. A limited number of similarities were noted between these two horizons, however, a greater similarity was observed between the assemblages of Mardikh IIB 1 and horizon 2B. This does not explain the discrepancy between Mardikh IIB 1 and horizon 2A. It seems likely that horizon 2A is equivalent to the Early Dynastic III period in southern Mesopotamia and that horizon 2B corresponds more fully with the mature Akkad (and Ur III) period. This nomenclature, as L. Thissen has observed, deviates from the one used by P. Matthiae and S. Mazzoni, among others, who regard pre-Akkad Mardikh IIB 1 as part of the traditional EB IV.¹⁵⁹ There is a growing body of evidence emerging from excavated sites in northern Syria to support this deviation.¹⁶⁰ As previously stated, recent work at Tell Mardikh has yielded an assemblage which is chronologically earlier than Mardikh IIB 1 and which contains features which suggest a correlation with horizon 2A in the Euphrates valley. The discovery of this new assemblage at Tell Mardikh may require a revision of the existing periodization for the site. The differences between the Mardikh IIA and IIB 1-2 pottery and horizon 1A-B and 2A-B from the Euphrates valley may other-

¹⁵⁸ S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, p. 9, fig. 7.

¹⁵⁹ C.L. Thissen, 1989, p. 207, note 1.

¹⁶⁰ Most notably the findings from Hammam et-Turkman (L.C. Thissen, 1989, pp. 195-211) and Kurban Höyük. (G. Algaze [ed.], 1990, pp. 346-347).

wise be the result of regional variability within the distribution of specific wares and types. This factor has already been emphasised by Mazzoni as an important consideration in the comparison of different site assemblages.¹⁶¹

Thirdly, the *Mardikh* IIB 1 (late ED III/Early Akkad) and IIB 2 (late Akkad to Ur III) period covers a relatively long period of time and has been related to the traditional EB IV A-B terminology. If horizon 2B from the Euphrates valley is equivalent to the *Mardikh* IIB 1-2 period, which seems extremely likely considering the close ceramic parallels with *Mardikh* IIB 1-2, we may expect to find indications of a subdivision of the 2B horizon. At present, evidence for this division in the Euphrates valley is not apparent. The Ur III period sites along the Euphrates in the Tabqa Dam reservoir display a continuity of the existing political structure.¹⁶² Conservatism within some aspects of material culture and stable ceramic production may have been one characteristic of the new post Akkad socio-political conditions which emerged during the Ur III period in the Euphrates valley and which may account for the apparent absence of any clear division of the 2B ceramic horizon.

CONCLUSION

The changes separating horizon 1A and 1B were relatively minor, consisting mainly of a refinement in the Plain Simple Ware tradition and the appearance of the cyma-recta cups. The variations between horizon 1B and 2A however, were more significant. They involved changes not only in the Plain Simple Ware tradition, but also in the Cooking Pot Ware, together with the appearance of new and more specialised wares. The essential differences between horizon 2A and 2B were the reduction or disappearance in the number of specialised wares and the appearance of a wide range of innovative Plain Simple Ware types which reflected elements of mass production and an advanced degree of craftsmanship.

These technical and typological developments in the pottery horizons are most clearly witnessed in the evolution of a series of

¹⁶¹ S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, p. 9.

¹⁶² H.H. Curvers, 1991, p. 48. The presence of an inscribed Ur III weight at Tell Sweyhat suggests the imposition of a standardised system of measure in the Euphrates valley by the Ur III Dynasty.

small Plain Simple Ware cups. These vessels provide typological indicators of chronological significance and exhibit features which characterise this process of technical refinement in the pottery industry. The most distinctive Plain Simple Ware type of horizon 1A was represented by small cups with "S"-shaped profiles (fig. 1:5, 14, 22, 31). These vessels evolved into the more refined cyma-recta cups (fig. 2:5, 12, 17, 22) during horizon 1B. In the subsequent 2A horizon the cyma-recta cups were represented by conical cups (fig. 3:5, 32) or goblets with round or flat bases and plain surfaces (fig. 3:23) which were replaced by goblets with corrugated surfaces and fine ring bases in horizon 2B (fig. 4:4, 12, 23, 34).

Despite the uniformity in the pottery of the middle and upper Euphrates valley some inconsistencies are also apparent. During horizon 1 A-B Late Reserved-Slip Ware occurs more frequently in the upper Euphrates (Tishreen and Karababa Dam areas) than in the middle Euphrates (Tabqa Dam area). The uneven distribution of this ware could be the result of a number of factors; the limited available data, changes in settlement patterns or the reflection of a more localised tradition concentrated in the north. A number of differences in horizon 2 A-B suggests that localised disparities are an important consideration. During horizon 2 A-B for example Red Banded Ware is more common in the Tabqa and Tishreen Dam areas than in the Karababa basin which is instead dominated by the presence of Karababa Painted Ware. This latter ware is rarely found in the assemblages of sites in the Tishreen and Tabqa Dam areas. Although Red Banded Ware and Karababa Painted Ware appear to be indigenous to the Euphrates valley they have a limited distribution which reflects two localised ceramic traditions. A curious phenomenon is that Metallic Ware, despite being an imported product, transcends these local boundaries and is found throughout the middle and upper Euphrates valley and beyond.

The variations between the middle and upper Euphrates valley sites extend not only north-south, but also east-west. Within the Tishreen and Tabqa Dam area for example a difference may be observed between the sites situated on the east and west banks of the river. This was first noted by S. Mazzoni in her study of the Tell Mardikh Palace G pottery and the related third millennium ceramic cultures.¹⁶³ Not unexpectedly, the sites situated on the east bank of

¹⁶³ S. Mazzoni, 1985/a, p. 10.

the river (Tell Ahmar, Tell Sweyhat, Tell al-'Abd, Tell Munbaqa, Halawa, Tawi) share a greater number of correlations with the Balikh valley and Habur plains than the sites situated on the west bank. The west bank sites (Tell Hadidi, Habuba Kabira, Tell Selenkahiye) are more closely related to the inland and north-central ceramic tradition. The pottery assemblages from both sides of the river however, as G.M. Schwartz and R.H. Dornemann have previously suggested, have as much in common with each other as they have with assemblages from either the Orontes valley or the Balikh and Habur plains.¹⁶⁴ Although these east-west and north-south variations are apparent they do not detract from the unified and homogeneous nature of the middle and upper Euphrates valley region.

The most important finding of this study of the stratigraphically defined ceramic evidence from sites in the middle and upper Euphrates valley is that at least four ceramic horizons may be distinguished. It remains unknown how closely these horizons resemble equivalent developments in the EB I-IVA/B or ED I-UR III terminology and whether it is possible to correlate these traditional classification systems to the Euphrates valley. More excavation and quantified ceramic evidence is required before such conclusions may be reached. The ceramic horizons which have been outlined here serve as a relative pottery sequence for the middle and upper Euphrates valley which until recently has been a neglected archaeological territory and consequently poorly understood in the developments of the Early Bronze Age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Algaze, G., 1986, "Kurban Höyük and the Late Chalcolithic Period in the Northwest Mesopotamian Periphery: A Preliminary Assessment", in U. Finkbeiner & W. Röllig (eds.), *Gamdat Nasr: Period or Regional Style?*, Wiesbaden, pp. 274-315.
- Algaze, G. (ed.), 1990, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia, II The Stratigraphic Sequence at Kurban Höyük*, Chicago.
- Becker, A. & Kolhlmeier K., 1984, "Die Alte Friedhof und Extramurale Gräber", in R. Arns *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1982 und 1983", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 116, pp. 58-63.

¹⁶⁴ G.M. Schwartz, 1987/b, p. 242; R.H. Dornemann, 1987, p. 277.

- Behm-Blancke, M.R., 1988, "Periphere Ninive 5 Keramik am Oberen Euphrat", in *Mitteilungen de Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 120, pp. 159-172.
- *et al.*, 1981, "Hassek Höyük, vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1978-1980", in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 31, pp. 5-93.
- *et al.*, 1984, "Hassek Höyük, vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in den Jahren 1981-1983", in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 34, pp. 31-149.
- Biscione, R., 1982, "La ceramica del III. millennio", in P.E. Pecorella & M. Salvini (eds.), *Tell Barri/Kabat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle Campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri/Kabat, nell bacino del Habur*, Rome, pp. 45-54.
- Bounni, A., 1979, "Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Excavations at Tell al-'Abd and 'Anab al-Safinah (Euphrates) 1971-72", in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project, Euphrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American School of Oriental Research, 44, pp. 49-61.
- Braidwood, R.J. & Braidwood, L.S., 1960, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch. I. The Earlier Assemblages Phases A-J*, Chicago.
- Buccellati, G. *et al.*, 1979, *Terqa Preliminary Reports, 10, The Fourth Season: Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 10, Malibu.
- Bunnens, G., 1989, "Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates: A New Research Project of the University of Melbourne", in *Akkadica*, 63, pp. 1-11.
- , 1991/a, "Melbourne University Excavations at Tell Ahmar: 1988 Season", *Actes de la XXXVème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Gand, 10-14 juillet 1989*, pp. 163-170.
- , 1991/b, "Ahmar", in H. Weiss (ed.), "Archaeology of Syria", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 95, pp. 732-734.
- , 1992, "Melbourne University Excavations at Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates. Short Report on the 1989-1992 Seasons", in *Akkadica*, 79/80, pp. 1-13.
- , 1990, (ed.), *Tell Ahmar 1988 Season*, Abr-Nahrain, Supplement Series 2, Leuven.
- Castellino, G. *et al.*, 1966, *Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria; rapporto preliminare della Campagna 1965 (Tell Mardikh)*, Rome.
- Collon, D. *et al.*, 1975, *Sondages au Flanc sud du Tell de Qal'at el-Mudiq, Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie*, Centrum voor Archeologische Opzoekingen te Apamea in Syrie. miscellanea 11, Brussels.
- Courtois, J-CL., 1962, "Contribution à l'étude des Niveaux II et III de Ras Shamra", in *Ugaritica*, 4, pp. 330-414.
- Curvers, H.H., 1987, "The Middle Habur Salvage Operation: Excavation at Tell al-Raqa'i", in *Akkadica*, 55, pp. 1-29.
- , 1988, "The Period VI Pottery", in M.N. Van Loon (ed.), *Hammam et-Turkman I, Report on the University of Amsterdam's 1981-84 Excavations in Syria*, 2 Vols., Leiden, pp. 351-396.
- , 1989, "The Beginning of the Third Millennium in Syria", in O.M.C. Haex, H.H. Curvers & P.M.M.G. Akkermans (eds.), *To the Euphrates and Beyond*, Rotterdam and Brookfield, pp. 173-193.

- , 1991, *Bronze Age Society in the Balikh Drainage (Syria)*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- & Schwartz, G.M., 1990, "Excavations at Tell al-Raqa'i: A Small Rural Site of Urban Northern Mesopotamia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 94, pp. 3-23.
- De Contenson, H., 1969, "Les couches du Niveau III au sud de l'Acropole de Ras Shamra", in *Ugaritica*, 6, pp. 43-89.
- , 1979, "Nouvelles données sur la chronologie du Bronze Ancien de Ras Shamra", in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 11, pp. 857-862.
- , 1982, "Les phases préhistoriques de Ras Shamra et de l'Amuq", in *Paléorient*, 8, pp. 95-98.
- Del Olmo Lete, G., 1989, "Misión arqueológica de la Universidad de Barcelona en Siria", in *Aula Orientalis*, 7/2, pp. 269-277.
- *et al.*, 1990, "Excavaciones en Tell Qara Quzaq Informe provisional: primera campana (1989) Misión Arqueológica de la Universidad de Barcelona en Siria", in *Aula Orientalis*, 8/1, pp. 5-20.
- De Maigret, A., 1974, "Tell Munbatah: un nuovo sito della cultura 'caliciforme' nella Siria del Nord", *Oriens Antiquus*, 13, pp. 249-297.
- Dornemann, R.H., 1979, "Tell Hadidi: A Millennium of Bronze Age City Occupation", in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Excavation Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project-Euphrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 44, pp. 113-51.
- , 1987, "Some Observations on the Geographical Extent of Cultural Areas in Syria and Transjordan", in A. Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III*, Amman and London, pp. 275-278.
- , 1988, "Tell Hadidi: One Bronze Age Site Among Many in the Tabqa Dam Salvage Area", in *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, 270, pp. 13-42.
- , 1990, "The Beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Syria in Light of Recent Excavations", in P. Matthiae *et al.*, (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past: A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden, pp. 85-100.
- Du Mesnil du Buisson, R., 1927, "Les ruines d'el Mishrifé au nord-est de Homs (Émèse)", in *Syria*, 8, pp. 13-33, 277-301.
- , 1930, "Compte rendu de la quatrième campagne de fouilles à Mishrifé-Qatna", in *Syria*, 11, pp. 146-163.
- , 1932, "Une campagne de fouilles à Khan Sheikhoun", in *Syria*, 13, pp. 71-188.
- , 1935a, *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna*, Paris.
- , 1935b, "Souran et Tell Masin", in *Berytus*, 2, pp. 121-134.
- Esin, U., 1976, "Tepecik Excavations, 1972", in *Keban Project 1972 Activities*, Ankara, pp. 109-146.
- , 1979, "Tepecik Excavations, 1973", in *Keban Project 1973 Activities*, Ankara, pp. 97-114.
- , 1982, "Die Kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Ostanatolien und Mesopotamien sowie Syrien anhand einiger Grabungen und Oberflächfunde aus dem oberen Euphrattal im 4. Jt. v.Chr", in H.J. Nissen & J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und Seine Nachbarn*, Berlin, pp. 13-22.

- Fielden, K.J., 1981, *The Chronology of Settlement in Northeast Syria During the Later Fourth and Third Millennium B.C. in Light of the Ceramic Evidence from Tell Brak*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
- Finet A., 1979, "Bilan provisoire des fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs", in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project Euphrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 44, pp. 215-228.
- , 1980, "L'apport du Tell Kannâs à l'histoire proche-orientale, de la fin du 4e millénaire à la moitié du 2e", in J.-CL. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden, pp. 107-116.
- (ed.), 1983, *Lorsque la royauté descendit du ciel ... Les fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs sur l'Euphrate en Syrie*, Musée royal de Mariemont.
- Fitz, S., 1984, "Steinzeug vom Tell Huera: das früheste Beispiel für die Herstellung dichtgebrannter Keramik", in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, 74, pp. 123-132.
- Freedman, D.N. (ed.), 1979, *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project — Euphrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American School of Oriental Research, 44, Cambridge, (MA).
- Fugmann, E., 1958, *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938, II-1: L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*, Copenhagen.
- Hauptmann, H., 1972, "Die Grabungen auf dem Norsun-Tepe 1970", in *Keban Project 1970 Activities*, Ankara, pp. 103-122.
- , 1979, "Die Grabungen auf dem Norsun-Tepe, 1973", in *Keban Project 1973 Activities*, Ankara, pp. 61-78.
- , 1982, "Die Grabungen auf dem Norsun-Tepe, 1974", in *Keban Project 1974-1975 Activities*, Ankara, pp. 41-70.
- Heinrich, E., et al., 1970, "Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk in Habuba Kebira und in Mumbaqt unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen (Herbstkampagne 1969), erstattet von Mitgliedern der Mission", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 102, pp. 27-85.
- Helms, S., 1971, "Taskun Mevkii", in *Anatolian Studies*, 21, pp. 8-10.
- , 1972, "Taskun Mevkii", in *Anatolian Studies*, 22, pp. 15-17.
- , 1973, "Taskun Mevkii 1970-71", in D.H. French et al., "Asvan Kale 1968-1972: An interim report", in *Anatolian Studies*, 23, pp. 109-120.
- Hemker, C., 1987, "Sondage auf dem Nordhang des Hügels C", in E. Strommenger et al., "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1985", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 119, pp. 40-46.
- Hogarth, D.G., 1909, "Carchemish and its Neighbourhood", in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 2, pp. 165-184.
- , 1914, *Carchemish, Part I, Introduction*, London.
- Holland, T.A., 1975, "An Inscribed Weight from Tell Sweyhat, Syria", in *Iraq*, 37, pp. 75-76.
- , 1976, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat, Syria, 1973-74", in *Levant*, 8, pp. 36-70.
- , 1977, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat, Syria, 1975", in *Levant*, 9, pp. 36-65.

- Ingholt, H., 1940, *Rapport Préliminaire sur Sept Campagnes de Fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932-1938)*, Vol. III, 1. Copenhagen.
- Jamieson, A., 1989-90, "Experiments in the Manufacture of Ancient Near Eastern Pottery", in *The Artefact*, 13, pp. 12-27.
- , 1990, "Area A — Pottery", in G. Bunnens (ed.), *Tell Abmar 1988 Season*, Abr-Nahrain, Supplement Series, 2, Leuven, pp. 25-105.
- Kampschulte, I. & Orthmann, W., 1984, *Gräber des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Syrischen Euphrattal: 1. Ausgrabungen bei Tawi 1975 und 1978*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 38, Bonn.
- Karsten, K., 1986, "Die Rollsiegel", in D. Machule *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa, 1984", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 118, pp. 123-125.
- Kelly-Buccellati, M., 1979, "The Outer Fertile Crescent: North Eastern Connections of Syria and Palestine in the Third Millennium B.C.", in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 11, pp. 413-430.
- Klengel, H., 1992, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History*, Berlin.
- Kohlmeyer, K., 1987, "Sondage an der Südostflanke des Hügels E", in E. Strommenger *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1985", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 119, pp. 23-33.
- Kühne, H., 1976, *Die Keramik vom Tell Chuera und ihre Beziehungen zu Funden aus Syrien-Palästina, der Türkei und dem Iraq*, Berlin.
- & Schneider, G., 1988, "Neue Untersuchungen zur Metallischen Ware", in *Damascener Mitteilungen*, 3, pp. 83-139.
- Lebeau, M., 1985, "Rapport préliminaire sur la séquence céramique du Chantier B de Mari (IIIe millénaire)", in *MARI*, 4, pp. 93-126.
- , 1987, "Rapport préliminaire sur la céramique des premiers niveaux de Mari (Chantier B-1984)", in *MARI*, 5, pp. 415-442.
- , *et al.*, 1985, "Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles à Tell Melebiya (Moyen-Khabour — printemps 1984)", in *Akkadica*, 45, pp. 1-31.
- , *et al.*, 1986, "Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles à Tell Melebiya (Moyen-Khabour — printemps 1985)", in *Akkadica*, 46, pp. 1-49.
- *et al.*, 1987, "Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles à Tell Melebiya (Moyen-Khabour — automne 1986)", in *Akkadica*, 51, pp. 1-74.
- *et al.*, 1989, "Rapport préliminaire sur la quatrième campagne de fouilles à Tell Melebiya (Moyen Khabour — printemps 1987)", in *Akkadica*, 61, pp. 1-31.
- Lüth, F., 1981, "Grabungen auf dem Tell B", in W. Orthmann *et al.*, *Halawa 1977 bis 1979, Vorläufiger Bericht über die 1 bis 3 Grabungskampagne*, Bonn.
- , 1989, "Tell Halawa B", in W. Orthmann *et al.*, *Halawa 1980 bis 1986: Vorläufiger Bericht über die 4.-9. Grabungskampagne*, Bonn, pp. 85-109.
- Mallowan, M.E.L., 1936, "The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar, and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region, 1934-35", in *Iraq*, 3, pp. 1-86.

- , 1947, "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar", in *Iraq*, 9, pp. 1-266.
- Margueron, J.-CL. (ed.), 1980, *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 mars 1977, Leiden.
- Matthiae, P., 1978, "Preliminary Remarks on the Royal Palace G", in *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, 2/2, pp. 13-40.
- , 1980, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered*, London.
- 1982, "The Mature Early Syrian Culture of Ebla and the Development of Early Bronze Civilization of Jordan", in A. Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, Amman, pp. 77-91.
- , 1989, "The Destruction of Ebla Royal Palace: Interconnections Between Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Late EB IVA", in P. Åström, *High, Middle and Low?*, Gothenburg, pp. 163-169.
- Mazzoni, S., 1980, "Appunti sulla diffusione della ceramica 'Reserved Slip' in Mesopotamia e Siria", in *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 3, pp. 241-258.
- , 1985/a, "Elements of the Ceramic Culture of Early Syrian Ebla in Comparison with Syro-palestinian EB IV", in *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, 257, pp. 1-18.
- , 1985/b, "Frontières céramiques et le Haut-Euphrate au Bronze Ancien IV", in *MARI*, 4, pp. 561-577.
- , 1991, "Ebla e la formazione della cultura urbana in Siria", in *La Parola del Passato*, 46, pp. 163-194.
- McClellan, T.L., 1991, "Tishreen Dam Project", in H. Weiss (ed.), "Archaeology of Syria", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 95, pp. 700-701.
- , (forthcoming), "Tishreen Dam Salvage Archaeology and the 1989 Excavations at Tell el-Banat Village".
- & Porter, A., (in press), "Archaeological Surveys of the Tishreen Dam Flood Zone", in *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*.
- & Porter A., (forthcoming), "Jawa and North Syria".
- Meijer, D.J.W., 1980, "The Excavations at Tell Selenkahiye", in J.-CL. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden, pp. 117-126.
- Mellaart, J., 1981, "The Prehistoric Pottery from the Neolithic to the Beginning of EB IV (c. 7000-2400 B.C.)", in J. Matthers *et al.*, *The River Qoueiq, Northern Syria and its Catchment. Studies Arising from the Tell Rifa'at Survey 1977-79*, BAR International Series, 98, Oxford, pp. 131-139.
- , 1982, "Mesopotamian Relations with the West, Including Anatolia", in H.J. Nissen & J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, 2nd ed, Berlin 1982, pp. 7-12.
- Mellink, M.J., 1984, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 88, pp. 447-450.
- , 1985, "Archaeology in Anatolia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89, pp. 554-557.
- , 1987, "Archaeology in Anatolia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91, pp. 8-12.
- , 1988, "Archaeology in Anatolia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92, pp. 110-113.
- , 1989, "Archaeology in Anatolia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93, pp. 113-116.

- Monchambert, J.-Y., 1985, "Mashnaqa 1985, Rapport préliminaire sur la lère campagne de fouilles", in *Syria*, 62, pp. 219-250.
- , 1987, "Mashnaqa 1986: Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles", in *Syria*, 64, pp. 47-78.
- Oates, D., 1982, "The Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81", in *Iraq*, 44, pp. 187-204.
- , 1982, "Some Late Early Dynastic III Pottery from Tell Brak", in *Iraq*, 44, pp. 205-219.
- , 1985, "Tell Brak and Chronology: the Third Millennium, in *MARI*, 4, pp. 137-144.
- , 1986, "Tell Brak: Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence", in U. Finkbeiner & W. Röhlig (eds.), *Gamdat Nasr Period or Regional Style?*, Wiesbaden, pp. 245-273.
- , 1990, "Tell Brak in the Fourth and Third Millennia: From Uruk to Ur III", in S. Eichler *et al.*, (eds.), *Tall Al-Hamadiya 2, Recent Excavations in the Khabour Region*, Göttingen, pp. 133-147.
- Orthmann, W. *et al.*, 1981, *Halawa 1977 bis 1979, Vorläufiger Bericht über die 1 bis 3 Grabungskampagne*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 31, Bonn.
- *et al.*, 1989, *Halawa 1980 bis 1986, Vorläufiger Bericht über die 4.-9. Grabungskampagne*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 52, Bonn.
- & Kühne, H., 1974, "Mumbaqa 1973 Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutsch Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk unternommenen Ausgrabungen", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 106, pp. 53-97.
- Özdoğan, M., 1977, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey*, Istanbul.
- Palmieri, A., 1981, "Excavations at Arslantepe (Malatya)", in *Anatolian Studies*, 31, pp. 101-119.
- , 1985, "Eastern Anatolia and the Early Mesopotamian Urbanization: Remarks on Changing Relations", in M. Liverani *et al.* (eds.), *Studi di paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*, Rome, pp. 191-213.
- Parrot, A., 1956, *Mission Archéologique de Mari, Tome I, Le Temple d'Ishtar*, (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome LXV), Paris.
- Pfälzner, P., 1986-1987/a, "A Short Account of the Excavations in Tell Bderi 1985", in *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 36/37, pp. 276-291.
- , 1986-1987/b, "The Excavations at Tell Bderi 1985", in *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 36/37, pp. 292-303.
- *et al.*, 1988, "Tell Bderi 1985 Bericht über die erste Kampagne", in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 3, pp. 223-386.
- Prag, K., 1970, "The 1969 Deep Sounding at Harran in Turkey", in *Levant*, 2, pp. 63-94.
- Roaf, M. & Killick, R., 1987, "A Mysterious Affair of Styles: The Ninevite 5 Pottery of Northern Mesopotamia", in *Iraq*, 49, pp. 199-230.
- Roodenberg, J.J., 1980, "Premiers résultats des recherches archéologiques à Hayaz Höyük", in *Anatolica*, 7, pp. 3-19.

- , 1982, "Note sur la troisième campagne de fouilles à Hayaz Höyük", in *Anatolica*, 9, pp. 27-32.
- Rova, E., 1988, *Distribution and Chronology of the Nineveh 5 Pottery and its Culture*, Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale, II, Rome.
- Sagona, A., 1986, "An Early Bronze Age IV Tomb at El-Qitar, Syria", in *Abr-Nahrain*, 24, pp. 107-119.
- Schneider, G., 1989, "A Technological Study of North-Mesopotamian Stone Ware", in *World Archaeology*, 21/1, pp. 30-50.
- Schwartz, G.M., 1985, "The Ninevite V Period and Current Research", in *Paléorient*, 11/1, pp. 53-70.
- , 1987, "Review article of I. Kampschulte & W. Orthmann, Gräber des 3. Jahrtausends im syrischen Euphrattal 1. Ausgrabungen bei Tawi 1975 und 1978", in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 44, 1/2, pp. 239-243.
- , 1988, *A Ceramic Chronology from Tell Leilan Operation 1*, New Haven and London.
- & Curvers, H.H., 1992, "Tell al-Raqa'i 1989 and 1990: Further Investigations at a Small Rural Site of Early Urban Northern Mesopotamia", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96, 1992, pp. 397-419.
- Spanos, P., 1977, "Review article of H. Kühne, Die Keramik vom Tell Chuera und ihre Beziehungen zu Funden aus Syrien-Palästina, der Türkei und Dem Iraq, Berlin, 1976", in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 67, pp. 289-298.
- Strommenger, E., 1969, "Die Funde", in E. Heinrich *et al.*, "Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk im Euphrattal bei Aleppo begonnenen archäologischen Untersuchungen, erstattet von Mitgliedern der Expedition", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 101, pp. 27-76.
- , 1970, "Keramik", in E. Heinrich *et al.*, "Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk in Habuba Kebira und in Mumbaqaat unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen (Herbstkampagne 1969), erstattet von Mitgliedern der Mission" *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 102, pp. 45-51, 79-81.
- , 1971, "Keramik", in E. Heinrich *et al.*, "Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über den von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk in Habuba Kebira und in Mumbaqaat unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen (Herbstkampagne 1970), erstattet von Mitgliedern der Mission", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 103, pp. 21-25.
- , 1980, *Habuba Kabira Eine Stadt vor 5000 Jahren*, Mainz.
- *et al.*, 1986, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1984", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 118, pp. 7-44.
- *et al.*, 1987, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1985", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 119, pp. 7-56.
- Suleiman, A., 1984, "Excavations at Ansari-Aleppo for the Seasons 1973-1980", in *Akkadica*, 40, pp. 1-24.
- Sürenhagen, D., 1973, "Friedhöfe in Habuba Kabira-Süd", in E. Heinrich

- et al.*, "Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk in Habuba Kebira (Habuba Kabira, Herbstkampagnen 1971 und 1972 sowie Testgrabung 1973) und in Mumbaqa (Tall Munbaqa, Herbstkampagne 1971) unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen erstattet von Mitgliedern der Mission", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 105, pp. 33-38.
- , 1986, "The Dry Farming Belt: The Uruk Period and Subsequent Developments", in H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford (CT), pp. 7-43.
- Tezeren, Ö., 1987, "Keramik von der 'Kuppe' (Quadrat 30-31/30-31)", in D. Machule *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa, 1985", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 119, pp. 90-92.
- Thissen, L.C., 1985, "The Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery from Hayaz Höyük", in *Anatolica*, 12, pp. 75-130.
- , 1989, "An Early Bronze III Pottery Region Between the Middle Euphrates and Habur: New Evidence from Tell Hammam et-Turkman", in O.M.C. Haex *et al.*, (eds.), *To the Euphrates and Beyond: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, Rotterdam and Brookfield, pp. 195-211.
- Thuesen, I., 1988, *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938 I, The Pre- and Protobhistoric Periods*, Copenhagen.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. *et al.*, 1936, *Til-Barsib*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, t. XXIII, Paris.
- Todd, I.A., 1973, "Anatolia and the Khirbet Kerak Problem", in *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 22, pp. 181-206.
- Toueir, K., 1978, "The Syrian Archaeological Expedition to Tell al'Abd Zrejehey: Clay Figurines of the Third Millennium B.C.", in *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, 2/4, pp. 59-93.
- Trokey, M., 1983/a, "Des tombes akkadiennes?", in A. Finet (ed.), *Lorsque la royauté descendit du ciel ... Les fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs sur l'Euphrate en Syrie*, Musée royal de Mariemont, pp. 105-106.
- , 1983/b, "La céramique", in A. Finet (ed.), *Lorsque la royauté descendit du ciel ... Les fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs sur l'Euphrate en Syrie*, Musée royal de Mariemont, pp. 112-117.
- Tunca, Ö. (ed.), 1992, "Rapport préliminaire sur la 1ère campagne de fouilles à Tell Amarna (Syrie)", in *Akkadica*, 79/80, pp. 14-46.
- Van Driel, G., 1980, "The Uruk Settlement on Jebel Aruda: A Preliminary Report", in J.-CL. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden, pp. 75-93.
- Van Loon, M.N., 1979, "1974 and 1975 Preliminary Results of the Excavation at Selenkahiye near Meskene, Syria", in D.N. Freedman (ed.) *Excavation Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project in the Euphrates Valley, Syria*, Annual of the American school of Oriental Research, 44, pp. 97-112.
- Von Hoh, M.R., 1981, "Die Keramik von Hassek Höyük", in M.R. Behm-Blanke *et al.*, "Hassek Höyük Vorläufiger Bericht über die Aus-

- grabungen der Jahre 1978-1980", in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 31, pp. 31-82.
- , 1984, "Die Keramik von Hassek Höyük", in M.R. Behm-Blancke *et al.*, "Hassek Höyük Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1981-1983", in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 34, pp. 66-91.
- Watson, P.J., 1954, "The Chronology of North Syria and North Mesopotamia, from 10,000 to 2000 B.C.", in R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, pp. 61-100.
- Weiss, H., 1983, "Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of North Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C.", in *Paléorient*, 9/2, pp. 39-52.
- , 1990/a, "Civilizing" the Habur Plains: Mid-Third Millennium State Formations at Tell Leilan", in P. Matthiae, M.N. Van Loon & H. Weiss (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past A joint tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden, pp. 387-407.
- , 1990/b, "Tell Leilan 1989: New Data for Mid-Third Millennium Urbanization and State Formation", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 122, pp. 193-218.
- , 1990/c, "Third Millennium Urbanization: A Perspective from Tell Leilan", in S. Eichler *et al.*, (eds.), *Tall Al-Hamadiya 2, Recent Excavations in the Khabur Region*, Göttingen, pp. 159-166.
- Werner, P., 1986, "Ausgewählte Keramik der Kuppe", in D. Machule *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa, 1984", in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 118, pp. 90-98.
- Woolley, C.L., 1914, "Hittite Burial Customs", in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 6, pp. 87-98.
- , 1921, *Carchemish, Part II, The Town Defences*, London.
- , 1934, "The Prehistoric Pottery of Carchemish", in *Iraq*, 1, pp. 146-162.
- & Barnett, R.D., 1952, *Carchemish, Part III*, London.
- Zettler, R., 1978, "Review article of H. Kühne, Die Keramik von Tell Chuera und ihre Beziehungen zu Funden aus Syrien-Palästina, der Türkei und dem Iraq, Berlin, 1976", in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 37, pp. 345-350.

FIGURES AND CONCORDANCE

FIGURE 1 HORIZON 1A

1:1-10 Hassek Höyük *Hügelplateau Levels 3-4*, von Hoh, 1981, fig. 12:4; 8:5; 11:2; 17:4; 8:5; 13:2; 13:6,7; 18:9; 9:2; 10:6.

1:11-17 Kurban Höyük *Area COI Subperiod VB*, Algaze (ed.), 1990, pl. 45:A; 46:J; 48:M; 44:C; 51:E; 51:K; 49:L.

1:18-26 Tell Ahmar *Area A (1988) Strata A-D*, Jamieson, 1990, fig. 19:18; 20:2; 24:8; 31:8; 21:10; 43:1; 38:2; 38:10; 44:1.

1:27-32 Tell Hadidi *Area RII Stratum 1 Level 4*, Dornemann 1988, fig. 4:18; 5:6; 4:20; 6:12; 4:37; 5:32.

FIGURE 2 HORIZON 1B

2:1-7 Hassek Höyük *Quadraten S 18 D*, von Hoh, 1981, fig. 12:5; 8:6; 12:1; 22:8; 9:11; 13:4; 10:1.

2:8-15 Kurban Höyük *Area COI Subperiod VA*, Algaze (ed.), 1990, pl. 43:M; 43:A; fig. 102:D; pl. 49:J; fig. 102:13; pl. 45:E; fig. 101:A; pl. 49:K.

2:16-17 Hayaz Höyük *Square FG Level 3*, Thissen, 1985, fig. 3:2; 5:16.

2:18-22 Tell Hadidi *Area RII Stratum 2 Level 1*, Dornemann, 1988, fig. 6:24; 6:27; 6:38; 7:14; 6:34.

FIGURE 3 HORIZON 2A

3:1-13 Kurban Höyük *Area A, F, COI Period IV*, Algaze (ed.), 1990, pl. 59:F; 54:T; 56:K; 67:A; 53:S; 93:J; 75:F; 75:H; 84:G; 79:H; 77:D; 78:N; 78:C.

3:14-18 Tell Hadidi *Area RII Stratum 2 Levels 2-3*, Dornemann, 1988, fig. 8:17; 8:18; 7:23; 7:33; 7:26.

3:19-27 Halawa *Graves H-64, H-70, H-123*, Orthmann *et al.*, 1981, fig. 60:1; 60:18; 60:13; 71:4; 58:8; 61:25; 62:35; 71:6; 59:28.

3:28-36 Tawi *Graves T19-22*, Kampschulte & Orthmann, 1984, fig. 20:66; 20:68; 16:7; 22:110; 21:89; 24:148; 27:242; 23:139; 26:215.

FIGURE 4 HORIZON 2B

4:1-8 Kurban Höyük *Area A Period III*, Algaze (ed.), 1990, pl. 98:O; 100:G; 109:L; 97:K; 99:B; 113:E; 105:L; 99:H.

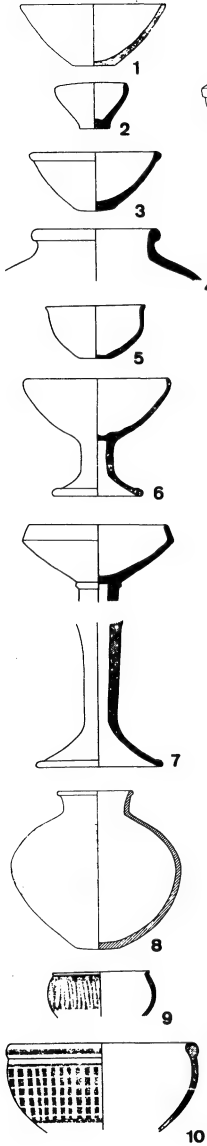
4:9-18 Tell Ahmar *Hypogeum*, Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, 1936, fig. 30; 31; 30; 29; 31; 32; 30; 31; 31; 32.

4:19-30 Tell Hadidi *Stratum 3 & Tombs L1, E1, K*, 1972, Dornemann, 1988, fig. 20:18; 15:25; 13:2; 19:29; 13:15; 16:19; 14:4; 16:22; 14:7; 16:20; Dornemann, 1979, fig. 17:3; Dornemann, 1988, fig. 17:4.

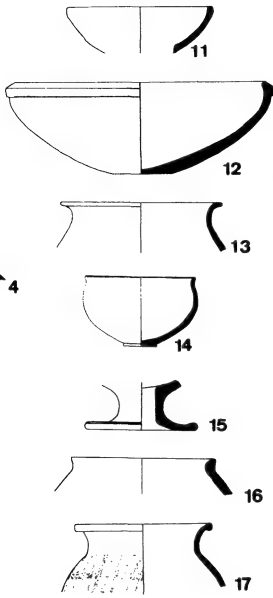
4:31-38 Tell Sweyhat *Area III & IV*, Holland, 1977, fig. 3:6; 2:11; 3:27; Holland, 1976, fig. 3:27; 9:18; 11:10; 9:20; 13:31.

HORIZON 1A

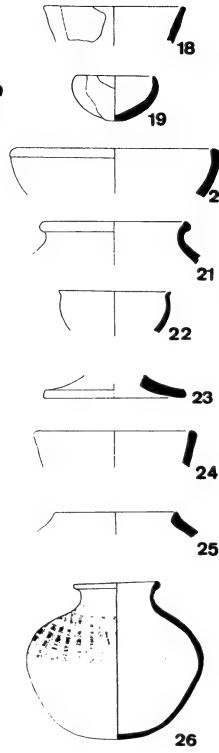
Hassek Höyük
igelplateau Levels 3-4



Kurban Höyük
Area CO1 Subperiod VB



Tell Ahmar
Area A Strata A-D



Tell Hadidi
Area RII Stratum 1 Level 4

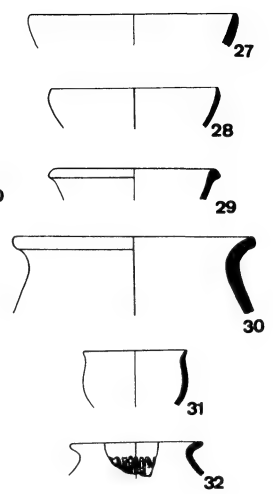
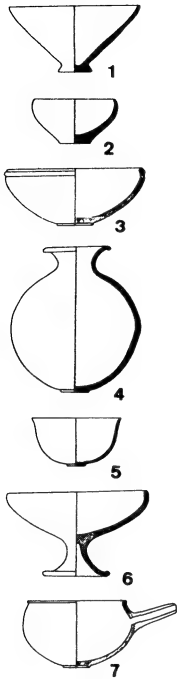


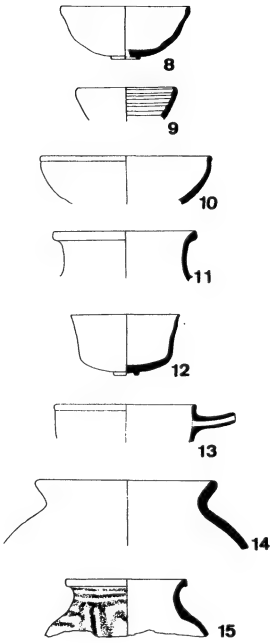
Figure 1.

HORIZON 1B

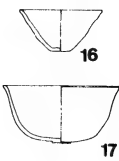
Hasek Höyük
Quadraten S 18 D



Kurban Höyük
Area CO1 Subperiod VA



Hayaz Höyük
Square FG Level 3



Tell Hadidi
Area RII Stratum 2 Level 1

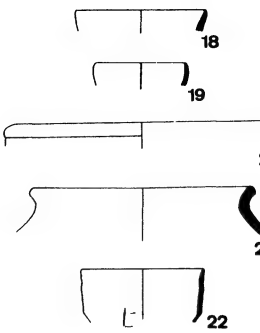
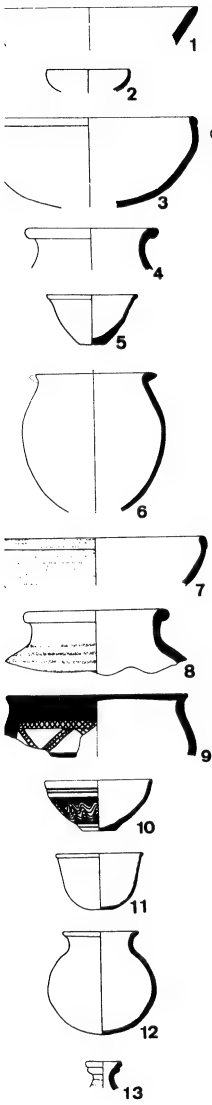


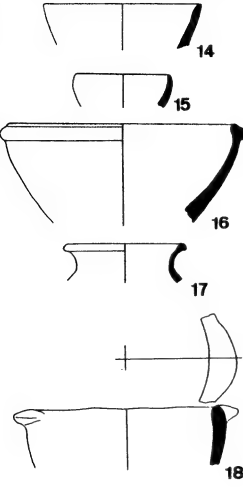
Figure 2.

HORIZON 2A

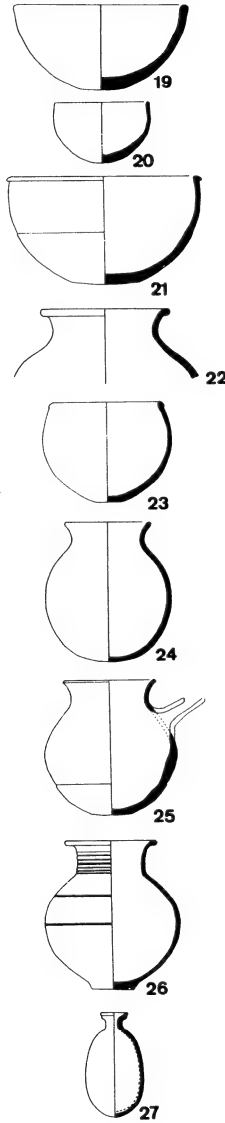
Kurban Höyük
 Area A, F, COI Period IV



Tell Hadidi
 Area RII Stratum 2 Levels 2-3



Halawa
 Graves H-64, H-70 & H-123



Tawi
 Graves T19-22

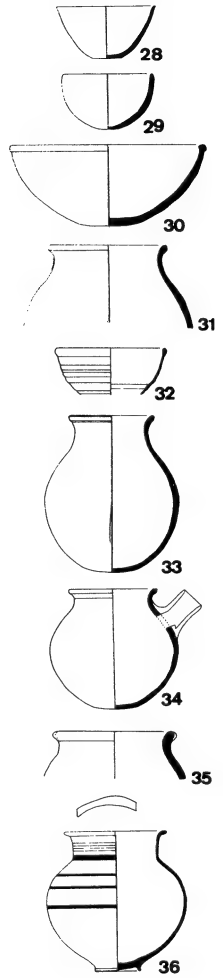


Figure 3.

HORIZON 2B

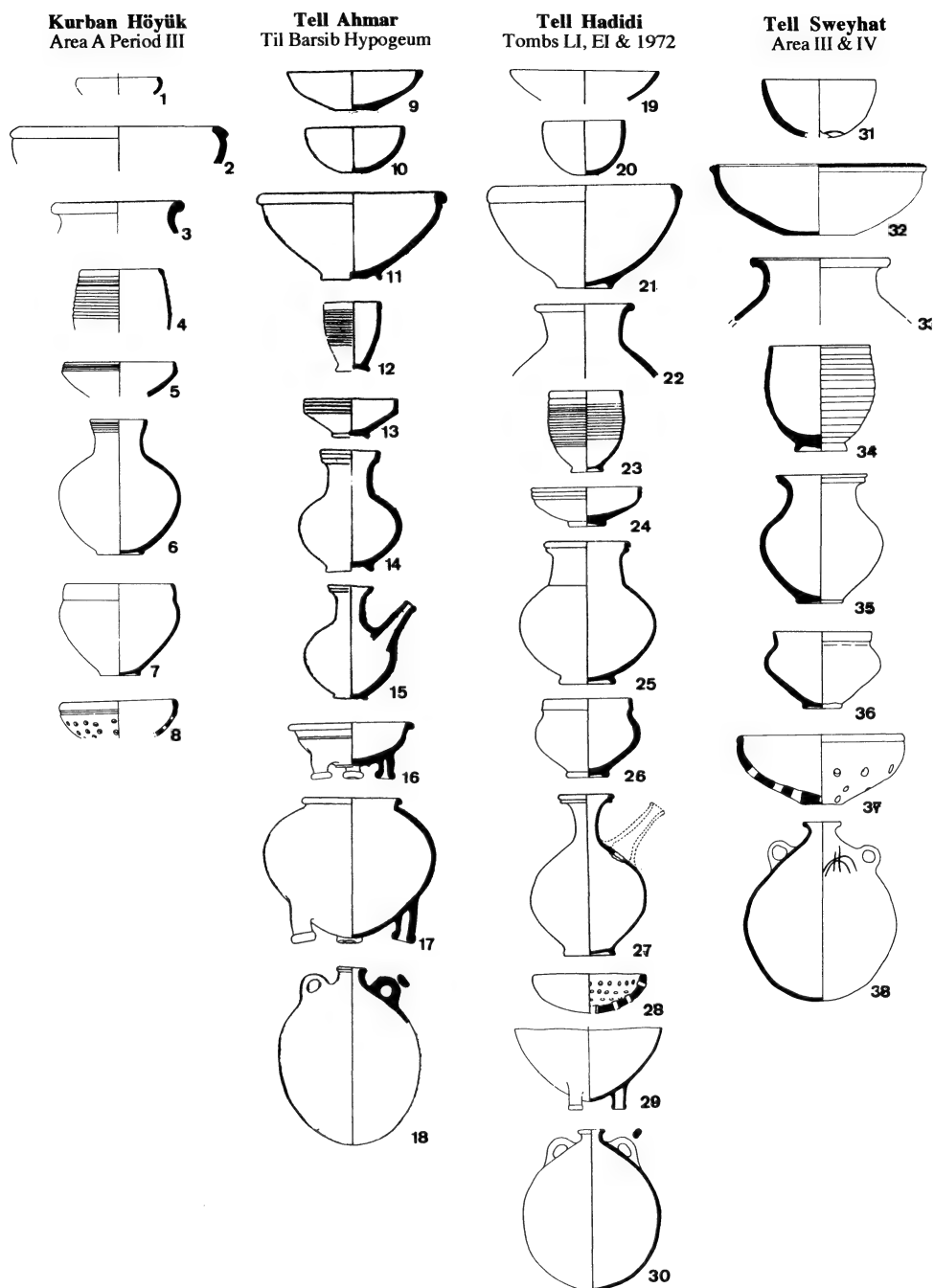


Figure 4.

MIDDLE SABAEAN CULTURAL-POLITICAL AREA: MATERIAL SOURCES OF QAYLITE POLITICAL POWER

BY

ANDREY KOROTAYEV

The Middle¹ Sabaean cultural-political area (SCPA throughout) was first of all a system of entities denoted as *ṣʿb* in the Sabaic inscriptions.

As has been demonstrated by Robin, the Middle Sabaic notion of *shaʿb* designated in different contexts quite different types of collecti-

¹ In this paper the history of ancient South Arabia is considered to be divided in three main periods:

a. the Ancient Period (the 1st millennium BC). The Ancient Period can be subdivided into two sub-periods: Ancient Sub-Period I (the Earliest Sub-Period, the Sub-period of the *mukarribs* of Sabaʿ, roughly speaking the first half of the 1st millennium BC) and Ancient Sub-Period II (roughly speaking the Sub-Period of the traditional kings of Sabaʿ, the second half of the 1st millennium BC).

b. The Middle Period (the 1st-4th centuries AD, roughly speaking the period of the kings of Sabaʿ and dhū-Raydān).

c. The Late ("Monotheistic") Period (the end of the 4th century - the 6th century AD, roughly speaking the period of the kings with the long royal titles).

While using the period names derived from the respective monarchical titles it is necessary to take into consideration the following points:

a. the *mukarribs* of Sabaʿ seem to have been the kings of Sabaʿ at the same time (the title of *mukarrib* was much more important than the royal one in the Ancient Period, and those with the former title would not usually mention the latter).

b. "The Sub-Period of the traditional kings of Sabaʿ" is not relevant for the South Arabian history as a whole, because in this Sub-Period the Sabaean kings, who seem to have lost the *mukarrib* title by that time, were not dominant in South Arabia.

c. During the period of the kings of Sabaʿ and dhū-Raydān a considerable number of Mārib kings had the title "king of Sabaʿ" (without "and dhū-Raydān"); yet the 1st-3rd centuries AD of the Sabaean (and Himyarite) history could be called in this way because during this period there was usually at least one king (if not two) with this title: the Sabaean monarch in Mārib could be "the king of Sabaʿ", yet the Himyarite ruler in Ṣafār would always be "the king of Sabaʿ and dhū-Raydān".

d. "The Period of the kings with the long titles" starts almost a century before the Monotheistic Period.

vities which constituted a certain structural hierarchy (Robin 1979, 2-3; 1982 a, I, 71-77; 1982 b, 22-25).

Sha'bs of the first order (from the top = *sha'bs*₁) were quite amorphous ethno-cultural entities lacking any political centralization if they were not identical with *sha'bs* of the second order (= *sha'bs*₂). Each of such communities cohered because of its common tribal name, common tribal deity, some other common cultural features like "tribal" calendar, eponym etc. Such ethno-cultural entities occupied territories of several thousand square kilometres each. Robin denotes these formations as "*confédérations*" (Robin 1979, 2-3; 1982 a, I, 71-72; 1982 b, 22-23), but it is also quite possible to speak here about the tribe as an ethnic unit (Malinovski's "tribe-nation"—Malinovski 1947, 252-258). *Sha'b*₁ may consist of several *sha'bs*₂ ("*sha'bs* of the second order").

*Sha'bs*₂ were considerably more politically centralized entities occupying territories of several hundred square kilometres and headed by the *qayls* (Robin 1979, 2-3; 1982 a, I, 71-93; 1982 b, 22-24). Sometimes *sha'bs*₂ and 1 were identical (the most evident examples are Ma'dhin [M'DNM] and Ghaymān [ĠYMN]). *Sha'bs*₂ are most often denoted as "tribes" (*tribu*, *Stamm*, *plemya*: Rhodokanakis 1927, 119; Hartmann 1909 [1978], 216-217; Lundin 1971, 205, 221, 232, 236; Beeston 1972 a, 258; Robin 1982 a, I, 71-77 etc.); this designation seems to be quite correct, if one considers tribe as a political, but not an ethnical unit, i.e. "tribe-state" as distinct from "tribe-nation" according to Malinovski (Malinovski 1947, 259-261). Equally the *sha'b*₂ conforms completely to the definition of chiefdom understood as "an intermediate form of political structure that already has a centralized administration and a hereditary hierarchy of rulers and nobility, where social and property inequality is present, but that still lacks a formal and all the more legalized apparatus of coercion" (Vasilyev 1980, 182; for the theory of chiefdom see for example Earle 1987).

Finally each *sha'b*₂ usually included several *sha'bs* of the third, lowest, order occupying territories of several dozen square kilometres. *Sha'bs* of this order were quite compact autonomous territorial entities with a marked central settlement (*hgr*) which usually gave its name to a whole *sha'b*₃. *Sha'b*₃ could be designated as "local community", but it may be also considered as "section" of tribe (cp. for example: Evans-Pritchard 1940 [1967], 139-147), or "sub-tribe".

*Sha'b*₂ was not a mere mechanical sum of *sha'bs*₃. It was a system

consisting of *sha'bs*₃ and the "house" (*byt*) of its *qayls* (*'qwl*) which played the role of the political centre of *sha'b*₂; the qaylite households, *bayts*, acted as administrative sub-systems within the socio-political systems of *sha'bs*₂. Certainly any sub-system of this kind when functioning must consume considerable amounts of energy and matter. Thus to secure its function, it is necessary to provide a stable flow of energy and matter from their producers towards the administrative sub-system.

Within the state systems this problem is usually solved (more or less successfully) through regular taxation. Yet it is not evident that this problem was solved in this way in the socio-political systems of *sha'bs*₂.

Indeed, there are not enough grounds to be sure of the existence of any regular system of taxation (in cash or in kind) on the level of *sha'b*₂, we have no evidence that *sha'b*₂ as a whole regularly paid anything to their *qayls*.²

The only evidence for the existence of some regular system of the assessment is the information we get from the inscriptions about the temple tithe (*'sr*) and the offering of the first fruits (*fr'*)³ to the temples. The information on the temple tithe is quite abundant (C 342, 5-6; 567, 3-4; Er 22 §1; 26 §1; Gl 1438, 5; Ja 615, 9; 617, 4; 656, 17; 659, 5; Na NAG 11 / = Er 25/, 9; Na NNSQ 14, 6 etc.). We know that the tithe was supposed to be paid annually (C 567, 4-6; Er 26 §1; Ja 615, 9-14; Na NAG 11 / = Er 25/, 11-12 etc.) and (very probably) on almost all the agricultural lands (C 342, 7; Ja 615, 9-14; Er 26 §1 etc.). We also know that the temple tithe and "first fruits" could be paid to the tutelary deities of the *sha'bs* (C 342, 2-8;

² It seems possible to maintain the same with respect to the central taxation as well.

³ Some Judaic norms provide at least some hint of the probable amount of the first fruits: "Although the Mishnah (*Pe'ab* 1.1) establishes that no particular quantity was stipulated for the first fruits, later Rabbinic legislation set a minimum of one sixtieth of the harvest of each species brought" (Wigoder 1989, 266). The Qatabanian inscription AM 736 also shows that *fr'* was not a symbolic payment without any significant material value, as its author makes a dedication of a bronze statue as an equivalent of his offering of the "first fruits" — *sqny ... slm ddbn fr'-s* (line 2). The value of the "first fruits" offered to the deity appears to be equal to that of the bronze statue, whereas the tithe from the land possessions of a whole qaylite clan for a whole year could be also substituted by the offering of one bronze statue (e.g. Er 26 §1). Thus the material value of the "first fruits" might have been at least comparable with that of the tithe. Yet it is necessary to stress that *fr'* offerings are mentioned by the Sabaeen inscriptions extremely rarely (R 4930).

Gl 1438, 3-6; R 4930 etc.); and that is naturally the most probable candidate for the place of a qaylite tax.

Yet even in these cases there are insufficient grounds to consider 'šr as some hidden form of local taxation on the part of the qayls. The most important fact is that 'šr could be paid in the form of a statue dedicated to the corresponding temple (C 342, 2-6; Gl 1438, 3-5 etc.). That makes it quite evident that the temples were real recipients of 'šr and it is unlikely to have been a latent form of state (or local administrative) taxation. It cannot be considered as a regular source of matter and energy for the administrative sub-system of *sha'b2* (i.e. for the qayls' bayt).

Yet there are enough grounds to say that these bayts got enough resources to solve all those problems without establishing any artificial system of the regular local taxation. Below I shall try to list the main sources which provided the necessary material resources for qaylite political power.

a. Qaylite Households

One evident and important source of material resources for the qayls was simply their households. We have sufficient evidence to suppose that these households were very large. Qayls mention quite often their lands ('rd/'rdt),⁴ fields (*ms'ymt*),⁵ terraced fields ('br/t),⁶ wadi-side cultivation ('šrr),⁷ vineyards ('nb),⁸ irrigated lands (*mfnt*),⁹ lands of other types,¹⁰ dams, canals, other irrigation installations of various kinds¹¹ etc.

One may therefore suppose that the revenues which the qayls got from their households might have been quite large and thus qayls' households could be considered as an important source of the

⁴ C 282, 13; Er 4 § 2; § 6; 19, 31; 22 § 1, § 2; Gl 1320 I ≈ II, 8, 10; Ja 561 bis, 21; 562, 13; 564, 20-21; 615, 20-21; 631, 40; 650, 13, 16; 651, 48-49; 670, 27; Na NAG 8, 18; Ry 538, 39 etc.

⁵ C 282, 14; Er 22 § 2; 26 § 2; 27 § 2; 37, 31; Ja 562, 13-14; 615, 10, 21; 650, 14; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 16-17 etc.

⁶ C 24, 4; Er 26 § 2; 27 § 2; Na NAG 8, 19; 11 (= Er 25), 16 etc.

⁷ C 74, 6; Er 4 § 2; § 6; 6 § 2; 22 § 1; 26 § 2; Ja 561 bis, 21; 562, 13; 564, 21; 615, 10, 20; 631, 40; 650, 13-14; 670, 27-28, 30; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 15; R 4190, 10-11 etc.

⁸ Er 26 § 2; Na NAG 8, 18-19; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 17 ?/ c.

⁹ Er 22 § 1; 26 § 2; 37, 30-31; Ja 564, 21; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 15 etc.

¹⁰ Er 22 § 1; 26 § 2; Ja 631, 40-41; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 16; R 3967, 2 etc.

¹¹ Er 7; Ja 564; 618; 627 = Na NAG 6; MAFRAY/Sidd 'Āmir; R 3967 etc.

provision of necessary material resources for the political core of the *sha'bs2*.

b. The Tenants of *Qayls*

Qayls granted some part of their huge land possessions on lease to their tribesmen. The fact that this practice actually existed is clearly revealed in C 605 bis. This inscription is a record of the land lease.¹² The landlords, Banū Bata' and Hamdān (*qayls* of the *sha'bs2* Ḥumlān and Ḥāshid), grant on lease (*hmrw w-nhl*—line 4) certain precisely identified fields to the Hashidite clan Banū Z'DM, the clients of Banū Hamdān.

It is probable that another case could be found in Robin-Kāniṭ 9, where its authors, Banū ḤṢMM w-YF'YN, who directly mention Banū Hamdān as their lords (*'mr'-hmrw*, line 4), ask T'LB for sound crops (*'imrm bn'm*, line 5) in "their fields and the field of their lords (situated in)"¹³ YF' and M...", *ms'ymt-hmrw w-ms'm 'mr'-hmrw d-YF' w-M*[...], line 6.¹⁴ Yet Robin translated this passage in the following manner "*leurs propriétés et la propriété de leurs seigneurs les d-YF' et M*[...]" (Robin 1982 a, II, 60) thus interpreting *d-YF' w-M*[...] as the

¹² Or in fact two separate inscriptions dealing with similar subjects. Gl 1533 = Ja 2855 leads one to the supposition that such inscriptions were duplicates of original documents made on soft (or relatively soft) materials (most probably wooden sticks see e.g. Beeston 1989; Akopyan, Bauer, Lundin 1991 etc.). Indeed lines 14-16 of this inscription inform us that "this document has been duplicated from the document which was signed by (the clan) d-HBB and [by] HLK'MR, the son of (the clan) S'HR'LY and etc." (*hmtl dn mšdqn bn ms/15./dq b-hw t'lm d-HBB w-HLK'MR bn S'/16./HR'LY w---*). Beeston (1978, 202) provides convincing proof that Sayhadic *t'lm* means "to sign" in the modern sense of this verb, i.e. "to put a signature in one's own hand", Qatabanic R 3688, 12: *t'lm'y yd S'HR*, "validated by S'HR's sign-manual". Hence, the original documents must have been written on "soft" material and signed, whereas inscriptional records appear to be duplicates of these original documents. This practice seems reasonable; to inscribe an original document in stone would virtually mean its "publication". It would also provide secure guarantees for the safe keeping of the text of the document.

¹³ The place where certain lands are situated is quite often mentioned in Sabaic inscriptions. See for example C 74, 19 etc.

¹⁴ *d-YF'* could also be the name of the field; in pre-Islamic Yemen fields, plantations and other land properties very often had their proper names, see for example C 37; 605 bis, 6; 611 etc. Incidentally both variants do not exclude each other. *Msm(n) d-YF'* can well be rendered as "the field of YF'", i.e. it may be the name of the field which at the same time indicates the place where it is situated (like e.g. "the University of London"). As there must have been more than one field in YF' (and the Hamdanids might have had more than one field in this location), the second element, *w-M...*, appears logical; it might have simply provided further precision, so that the field can be definitely identified by its name.

clan name of the authors' 'mr', "lords, masters"; hence, according to this interpretation the authors turn out to rent the field not from the qaylite clan, Banū Hamdān, but from another clan, Banū *ḡ-YF' w-M*/... Robin notices the fact that Banū Hamdān are directly mentioned as the authors' lords ('mr') and it leads Robin to develop a rather complicated theory maintaining that the authors' clan was doubly dependent on Banū Hamdān as the political leaders of their tribe, Hāshid, and on Banū *ḡ-YF' w-M*/... in their capacity as the clan granting the authors its lands on lease (p. 61). This possibility is not completely improbable, but in this particular case I would certainly prefer to identify the authors' lords (whose land they rent) as Banū Hamdān.

Indeed it is evident that in expressions like *'rḡ-hmw ḡ-X*, "their land *ḡ-X*", *ḡ-X* should not be necessarily equated with *-hmw*. For example, the author of C 342, */1./ NS²'KRB 'WTR /2./ bn BT' ---*, "NS²'KRB 'WTR, the son of (the clan of) BT'", mentions */7./ --- ms'mt-hmw ḡ-Ḍ = /8./ R'M ḡ-'rḡ QR' = /9./ MTN ---*, "their fields *ḡ-ḌR'M* in the land of QR'MTN".¹⁵ In this context *ḡ-ḌR'M* is evidently not equal with *-hmw*; it is not the author's clan name (which is BT'), it is the indication of the place where these fields are situated within the land of QR'MTN.

Incidentally, C 605 bis also provides the name (or the territorial situation, or both?) of the agricultural land which the Hamdanids grant on lease to their clients: *'bry-hmw ḡ-ḤBRN w-'br 'TTR*, "their two terraced fields, that of ḤBRN and the terraced field of 'Athtar" (line 3), where ḤBRN (let alone 'Athtar) differs from the clan names of both the landlords (Banū Hamdān) and the tenants (Banū Z'DM); see also line 6.¹⁶

Robin himself presents the following commentary on *ḡ-YF'*:

"ḡ-Yf': ce nom de lignage, encore inconnu, est formé de ḡ suivi de Yf' qui est probablement un nom de lieu. On ne peut guère éviter de rapprocher ce Yf' de Yf'y" (l. 2), un des noms de lignage des dédicants. A titre d'hypothèse, nous pourrions avancer que Yf' est un toponyme..." (p. 61).

This hypothesis looks very reasonable, and if we take it into consideration, it will appear very natural to suppose that *YF'* was the name of the place where Banū *YF'YN* lived (and which gave its name to this branch of the authors' clan), and where the field

¹⁵ QR'MTN is one of the *sha'bs* of which the *sha'b*₂ Humlān (led by the qaylite clan BT') consisted.

¹⁶ A similar case seems to be found in Sa 69 = YM 281 [CIAS I 95.41/2], 3.

(*ḡ-YF'*) which they rented from their lords, Banū Hamdān, was situated.

Hence I would tentatively suggest that *'mr'-hmmw* of line 6 of the inscription under consideration are simply Banū Hamdān, and consequently the Hashidite clan Banū ḤSMM *w-YF'YN* appears to have cultivated the land of their *qayls*.¹⁷

Taking into consideration the huge extent of qaylite land possessions (see above) this must have been a significant source of revenue for the qaylite *bayts*.

c. Qaylite Clients

Not all the tribesmen were qaylite clients, yet there is no doubt that the number of such clients was very high.¹⁸ There are some grounds to suppose that clients were obliged to pay certain personal rent to their patrons.¹⁹ Hence, it might have been another important source of the revenues for the qaylite "houses".

¹⁷ Another case of this kind might be Sa 69 (= YM 281 [CIAS I 95.41/12]), especially in Beeston's interpretation (Corpus 1977, 210). Yet this inscription is too fragmentary, there is a lacuna in a too important place, on line 3: *wrq 'rdn ḡ-FRMMM ḡ-yqblnn 1-[...]*, "the vegetable crops of the land dhū-FRMMM which they pay (as a rent) to[...]". In fact the precise identity of both the landlords and the tenants of the above mentioned plot remains virtually unknown. Beeston's proposal (Corpus 1977, 210) to identify the landlords as the Humlanite *qayls* and to consider the tenants as their clients (both are mentioned on line 1) appears rather hypothetical (though not completely implausible) especially taking into consideration the fact that Sa 69 is **not** "a *watf*-document" (as it is supposed by Beeston [Corpus 1977, 210] without sufficient grounds); it cannot be completely excluded that the landlord of the above-mentioned plot is e.g. the Humlanite patron-deity, Ta'lab (i.e. one of his temples).

¹⁸ Though it is unlikely that any more precise estimations will appear.

¹⁹ E.g. according to C 435 (from Mārib area) Banū "ZZ buy a certain "house" (clan community) *ḡ-YN'M* of clients (*'dm*) with their agricultural lands (*bytn w-gbltn* — lines 2-3) from Banū KS'HT. Thus, at least in the Lowlands whole cliental clan communities could be bought and sold, which implies that clients paid certain personal rent to their patrons (otherwise it is difficult to find plausible reasons for the buying of the cliental communities). Similar conclusions can be deduced from the fact that the clan communities of the royal clients could be granted by the kings to the aristocratic clans whose support they sought (C 69; Fa 3; 76; Ja 592, 3-6; R 4134 etc.). Incidentally, the recipients appear to have been very happy to receive such grants — at least the authors of Ja 592 explicitly thank the Sabaeen "federal" deity, Almaqah, for such a grant made for them by the kings (lines 3-6), which also implies that to have clients must have been quite profitable in the Middle Sabaeen cultural-political area (let alone such things as the very probable growth of the clan's prestige and influence with the growth of the number of its clients etc.).

d. "Reciprocal Assistance" on the Level of Tribe

In certain cases *qayls* could expect to get significant "help" (*rd*) from their subjects.²⁰ Yet in such cases the subjects could also expect to get such an assistance from their *qayls*.²¹ Thus the whole phenomenon appears to resemble a great deal an archaic system of gift exchange, and *qayls* could get some gain only through the probable imbalance of such an exchange.²²

e. Booty

Some role in this respect might have been played by booty which *qayls* must have got in very large quantities. Indeed the Middle Sabaeen kings were almost permanently engaged in various wars (e.g. Jamme 1962, 268-343; von Wissmann 1964; Bāfaqīh 1973, 87-144; 1990, 339-402), and most *qayls* took a very active part in those wars: the qaylite inscriptions mention their participation in these wars very often (C 315; Er 6 § 1; 13; 19; Gl 1177 [= Ry 502 = Ja 2131]; 1365, 8-13; Ja 561 bis, 5-14; 564, 7-13; 578; 601 ≈ 602 [= Na NAG 7], 3-9; 616, 7-31; 629; 631; 644; 649; 650, 18-27; 651, 8-27; 658, 5-18; 716, 4-10; Ry 538, 9-24 etc.), whereas the royal

²⁰ The most characteristic examples come from the South (the Himyarite-Radmanite CPA) — C 41; Er 40; Ja 2867 etc. In the North (SCPA proper) such examples are not abundant (C 172 + 241, 4; Ja 496 = Na NNSQ 70 = R 4713, 3; Ga 6, 3 /?/ etc.), yet it should be taken into consideration that by now a very few full-scale qaylite construction inscriptions from the North are known (which is quite a fortuitous phenomenon to my mind).

²¹ See for example C 339; 339 bis; R 4031; 4649; 4706; Ja 2871 and dozens of other cases.

²² Yet in any case the existence of such a system leads one to the supposition that qaylite households acted as another (in addition to the temple centres) "insurance company" for the *sha'b*. There are enough grounds to suppose that the majority of the Middle Sabaeen *bayts* were not stable economically. My impression is that such things as pestilences (*'ws*: C 81, 3-4; 541, 72-73; Ja 645, 13 etc.), invasions of insect pests and locusts (*qlmt*, *qlm*, *'rby*: C 74, 20; R 4320 c, 2; Sh 8/4 etc.), prolonged droughts (*mhl*: C 539, 6; Ja 735 etc.), hailstorms (*brd*: C 74, 20; Ja 610, 8 etc.), not to mention endless wars and forays, occurred very frequently in the SCPA, and ancient Yemen in general. Anyhow it is quite evident there were too many things in the SCPA which could undermine the economic stability of any clan community. Hence the presence of a large and stable qaylite *bayt* which could provide the assistance (to build say a house) was really very practical and useful for the non-qaylite clans. Through providing their assistance to the *qayls* (and strengthening their household in this way) the tribesmen paid a sort of informal premium to this "insurance company", and they could expect to get their "compensation" when they needed it.

inscriptions dealing with warfare often allude to *qayls* acting with the kings (e.g. Ja 574, 5, 8; 575, 3; 576, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15; 577, 4, 8, 9, 15). Finally *qayls* often refer directly to the booty they obtained as a result of their active participation in those wars (Er 13 § 1, § 5, § 6, § 8; 19, 14-15; Ja 561 bis, 8; 578, 32-33; 616, 29-31; 631, 9-10; 644, 20-21; 649, 13-14, 22-24; 650, 22-25; Ry 538, 17-19 etc.). Certainly this source of material resources cannot be considered as really stable and permanent, but it may have played some role in the provision of the prestigious consumption of the *qayls*, as it could yield products of high symbolic value.

f. *Qayls* and Temples

The text of Gl 1142 leads on to the supposition that at least sometimes some qaylite clans could have some control over the local temples. In such cases one may assume that *qayls* sometimes got certain part of the local temple tithe, yet this possibility remains rather hypothetical.

g. Military Service on the Level of Tribe

Finally there was one more (and perhaps most important) source of the material supplying of the qaylite political power. That is the only well-evidenced tax, but of a very specific kind, sort of military duty. Information about it is abundant, and it appears very probable that all the tribal clans were obliged to provide their members for their service (*šw'*) in the tribal levies under the command of their *qayls*. In any case such service is mentioned very often (C 2, 10-12; 79, 7-10; 140 [= DJE 24]; Gr 15, 6-14; Ja 564, 8-9; see also C 349, 4-7; 350, 10-12; Ja 561 bis, 6-10; 578, 31; 616, 22; 631, 3-8, 23-24, 25-28, 29, 31-34; 644, 4-25; 649, 13-14, 22-23 etc.).

It is well known that the archaic states actively engaged in warfare spend most of the taxes they collect on the sustaining of their military force. In the "Sabaean" *sha'bs2* this problem seems to have been solved through the military service of the tribesmen in their tribal levies.

*
* * *

Taking into consideration the fact that the *qayls* had other important sources of the material resources, the regular taxation of the

sha'bz population to provide the functioning of its administrative sub-system appears not to be really necessary in such circumstances. The system could function without it. Hence, the persistent silence of our sources about regular taxation does not seem to be completely fortuitous.²³

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bāfaqīh 1973 — Bāfaqīh, M.ʿA., *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman al-qadīm*. Bayrūt, 1973.
 Bāfaqīh 1990 — Bāfaqīh, M.ʿA., *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Sabaʿ, Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du Ier au IIIème siècle de l'ère chrétienne*. Paris, 1990 (Bibliothèque de Raydān, 1).
 Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990 — Bauer, G.M., Akopyan, A.M., and Lundin, A.G., "Novyye epigraficheskiye pamyatniki iz Hadramauta", *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*. 1990, N 2, 168-174.
 Beeston 1972 — Beeston, A.F.L., "Kingship in Ancient South Arabia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. 15/1-3 (1972), 256-268.
 Beeston 1978 — Beeston, A.F.L., "Notes on Old South Arabian Lexicography XI", *Le Muséon*. 91 (1978), 195-206.
 Beeston 1989 — Beeston, A.F.L., "Mahmoud 'Ali Ghul and the Sabaeen Cursive Script", *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul: Symposium at Yarmouk Univ., December 8-11, 1984*. Irbid - Wiesbaden, 1989, 15-19 (Yarmouk University Publications, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series; Vol. 2).

²³ Yet it should be maintained that the Middle Sabaeen inscriptions seem to tend to portray a society which is likely to appear more archaic than it was in reality. For example, these inscriptions never mention craftsmen (as well as crafts) and traders (as well as trade), though both quite developed crafts and trade were no doubt present in Pre-Islamic Yemen (see for example Piotrovsky 1985, 138-140). It is not surprising at all taking into consideration the well-known fact that such occupations are regarded as somehow unworthy in many archaic societies. The inscriptions seems to mention only "worthy" types of the human activities: warfare, religion, agriculture etc.; the collecting (or payment) of taxes is most unlikely to be in such a list (it is not relevant for the temple tithe the payment of which must have been considered as something quite "worthy"). Thus the Middle "Sabaeen" inscriptions seem to portray the society as it **must** have been from the point of view of the "Sabaeans" (some "pure" society of warriors and agriculturalists without such an "undecent" things as for example trade). Hence I would not be completely surprised if the recently discovered documents on wood (which have much less solemn more everyday nature — see for example Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990; Beeston 1989; Robin 1991) provided evidence for the existence of certain state taxation in the Middle Sabaeen cultural-political area, though I would insist that it is not inevitable, as this political system could do without any regular state taxation at all.

- Corpus 1889-1908, 1911, 1929 — *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars quarta. Inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens*. Tomus 1, 2, 3. Paris, 1889-1908, 1911, 1929.
- Corpus 1977 — *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquites Sud-Arabes*. T. 1, Louvain, 1977.
- Earle 1987 — Earle, T.K., "Chiefdoms in Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspective", *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 16 (1987), 279-308.
- Eryānī 1973 — al-Eryānī, M'A., *Fī ta'rikh al-Yaman. Sharḥ wa-ta'līq 'alā nuqūsh lam tunshar, 34 naqsh^{am} min majmū'at al-qādī 'Alī 'Abdallāh al-Kabālī*. al-Qāhirah, 1973.
- Evans-Pritchard 1940 [1967] — Evans-Pritchard, E.E., *The Nuer: a Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford, 1940 [1967].
- Fakhry, Ryckmans 1952 — Fakhry, A., *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen*. Vol. 3. *Epigraphical Texts* by G. Ryckmans. Cairo, 1952.
- Garbini 1970 — Garbini, G., "Antichità yemenite", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*. 30 (1970), 400-405, 538-542.
- Garbini 1973 — Garbini, G., "Nuove iscrizioni sabee", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*. 33 (1973), 31-46.
- Hartmann 1909 (1978) — Hartmann, M., *Der Islamische Orient*. Bd. II. *Die Arabische Frage, mit einem Versuche der Archäologie Jemens*, Leipzig, 1909 (1978).
- Höfner 1954 — Höfner, M., "Ta'lab als Patron der Kleinviehhierden", *Serta Cantabrigiensia*. Aquis Mattiacis /Wiesbaden/, 1954, 29-36.
- Höfner 1961 — Höfner, M., "Eine qatabanische Weihinschrift aus Timna", *Le Muséon*. 74 (1961), 453-459.
- Höfner 1973 — Höfner, M., *Inschriften aus Širwāb, Haulān (1. Teil)*. Wien, 1973 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, VIII; Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 291/1).
- Höfner 1981 — Höfner, M., *Sabäische Inschriften (Letzte Folge)*. Wien, 1981 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, XIV; Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 378).
- Jamme 1954 — Jamme, A., "Inscriptions du musée de Šan'ā' d'après les photographies de M.C. Ansaldi", *Le Muséon* 67 (1954), 323-338.
- Jamme 1962 — Jamme, A., *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqīs (Mārib)*. Baltimore, 1962 (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, III).
- Jamme 1970 — Jamme, A., "The Pre-Islamic Inscriptions of Riyadh Museum", *Oriens Antiquus*. 9 (1970), 115-139.
- Jamme 1976 — Jamme, A., *Carnegie Museum 1974/1975 Yemen Expedition*. Pittsburgh, 1976.
- Lundin 1971 — Lundin, A.G., *Gosudarstvo mukarribov Saba' (sabeyjskiy eponimat)*. Moskva, 1971.
- Müller 1974 — Müller, W.W., "CIH 140. Eine Neuinterpretation auf der Grundlage eines gesicherteren Textes", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*. 34 (1974), 413-420.
- Nāmī 1943 — Nāmī, Kh.Y., *Nashr nuqūsh sāmiyyah qadīmah min janūb bilād al-'Arab wa-sharḥ-hā*. Al-Qāhirah, 1943.

- Nāmī 1954 — Nāmī, Kh.Y., "Nuqūsh 'arabiyyah janūbiyyah II", *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb li-Jāmi'at al-Qāhirah*. 16/2 (1954), 21-43, pl. 1-4.
- Nāmī 1958 — Nāmī, Kh.Y., "Nuqūsh 'arabiyyah janūbiyyah III", *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb li-Jāmi'at al-Qāhirah*. 20/1 (1958), 55-63.
- Piotrovskiy 1978 — Piotrovskiy, B.B., ed., *Yuzhnaya Araviya. Pamyatniki drevney istorii i kultury*. Vol. 1. Moscow, 1978.
- Piotrovskiy 1985 — Piotrovskiy, M.B., *Yuzhnaya Araviya v ranneye srednevekovye. Stanovleniye srednevekovogo obshchestva*. Moscow, 1985.
- Rathjens, Höfner 1966 — Rathjens, C., [and Höfner, M.,] *Sabaeica, Bericht über archäologische Ergebnisse seiner zweiten, dritten und vierten Reise nach Südarabien*. III. *Bearbeitung der von Carl Rathjens in Sabaeica I und II in Abbildungen veröffentlichten altsüdarabischen Inschriften, sowie einiger sonstiger von ihm gesammelter Inschriftensteine* von Maria Höfner. Hamburg, 1966 (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, XXVIII).
- Répertoire 1929, 1935, 1950, 1968 — *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* publié par la Commission du *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. TT. V, VI, VII, VIII. Paris, 1929, 1935, 1950, 1968.
- Rhodokanakis 1927 — Rhodokanakis, N., "Das öffentliche Leben in den alten südarabischen Staaten", Nielsen, D., ed., *Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde*. I. *Die Altarabische Kultur*. Kopenhagen, 1927, 109-142.
- Robin 1979 — Robin, C., *La cité et l'organisation sociale à Ma'in: L'exemple de Yṯl (aujourd'hui Barāqīṣ)*. — The Second International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia. Pre-Islamic Arabia (Dept. of History and Dept. of Archaeology. Faculty of Arts, University of Riyādh). 1399/1979.
- Robin 1982a — Robin, C., *Les hautes terres du Nord-Yémen avant l'Islam*. Istanbul, 1982, 2 vols.
- Robin 1982b — Robin, C., "Esquisse d'une histoire de l'organisation tribale en Arabie du Sud antique", Bonnenfant, P., ed., *La péninsule Arabique d'aujourd'hui*. T. II. *Études par pays*. Paris, 1982, 17-30.
- Robin 1987 — Robin, C., "L'inscription Ir 40 de Bayt Ḍab'an et la tribu Ḍmry", Robin, C., and Bāfaḳīh, M.A., eds., *Ṣayhadica*. Paris, 1987, 165-180.
- Robin 1988 — Robin, C., "Quelques observations sur la date de construction et la chronologie de la première digue de Ma'rib, d'après les inscriptions", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*. 18 (1988), 95-106.
- Robin 1991 — Robin, C., "Les écritures de l'Arabie avant l'Islam", Robin, C., ed., *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*. Aix-en-Provence, 1991 (Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée, 61), 127-137.
- Ryckmans 1953 — Ryckmans, G., "Inscriptions sud-arabes, dixième série", *Le Muséon*. 66 (1953), 267-317.
- Ryckmans 1956 — Ryckmans, G., "Inscriptions sud-arabes, Quatorzième série", *Le Muséon*. 69 (1956), 369-389.
- Schaffer 1972 — Schaffer, B., *Sabäische Inschriften aus verschiedenen Fundorten (I. Teil)*. Wien, 1972 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, VII; Sitzungsberichte

- der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 282/1).
- Sharafaddīn 1967 — Sharafaddīn, A.H., *Ta'riḫ al-Yaman al-thaqāfiyy, Al-juḡ' al-thālith*. Al-Qāhirah, 1967.
- Solá Solé 1964 — Solá Solé, J.M., *Inscripciones aus Riyām*. Wien, 1964 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, IV; Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 243/4).
- Vasilyev 1980 — Vasilyev, L.S., "Stanovleniye politicheskoy administratsii (ot lokalnoy gruppy ohotnikov i sobirately k protogosudarstvu-chiefdom)", *Narody Azii i Afriki*. 1980, N 1, 172-186.
- Wigoder 1989 — Wigoder, G., ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism*. New York, 1989.
- von Wissmann 1964 — von Wissmann, H., "Himyar: Ancient History", *Le Muséon*. 77 (1964), 429-497.

SIGLA OF THE INSCRIPTIONS CITED

- AM = Aden Museum — Höfner 1961
- C = CIH — Corpus 1889-1908, 1911, 1929
- CIAS = Corpus 1977
- DJE = Deutsche Jemen-Expedition — Müller 1974
- Er — Eryānī 1973; Robin 1987
- Fa — Inscriptions discovered by A. Fakhry — Fakhry, Ryckmans 1952
- Ga — Garbini 1970; 1973
- Gl — Inscriptions from E. Glaser's collection — Höfner 1954; 1973; 1981; Schaffer 19725; Solá Solé 1964
- Gr — Inscriptions discovered by P.A. Gryaznevich — Piotrovskiy 1978
- Ja — Jamme 1954; 1962; 1970; 1976
- MAFRAY — Robin 1988
- Na NAG — Nāmī 1954; 1958
- Na NNSQ — Nāmī 1943
- R = RÉS — Répertoire 1929; 1935; 1950
- Robin — Robin 1982a, v. 2
- Ry — Ryckmans 1953; 1956
- Sa — Rathjens [, Höfner] 1966
- Sh — Sharafaddīn 1967
- YM = Yemen Museum (Ṣan'ā') — Corpus 1977

A BIBLICAL HEBREW LEXICON OF ABRAHAM IBN-EZRA: DANIEL

BY

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA and ZIVA SHAVITSKY

Ibn-Ezra's commentary on the Aramaic chapters of the book of Daniel is, as far as the lexicography is concerned, surprisingly thin, and largely consists of straightforward translation into Hebrew. This material has not been incorporated into our reconstructed Biblical *Hebrew* lexicon of our commentator. For the general philosophy of our work and the approach adopted by us the reader is referred to our earlier instalments, especially *Abr-Nabrain*, 25 (1987) 68ff.

The continuing fascination our commentator holds is testified by the proceedings of an international symposium wholly dedicated to him and his works: F. Díaz Esteban, *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su Tiempo / Abraham Ibn Ezra and His Age. Actas del Simposio Internacional / Proceedings of the International Symposium. Madrid, Tudela, Toledo. 1-8 febrero 1989* (Asociación Española de Orientalistas: Madrid, 1990), pp. 396. See also I. Levin (ed.), *Studies in the Works of Abraham*.*

אוכל: = /yuvāl/ with Alef for Yod as in 1Ch 2.13 /'išay/ for /yišay/ and conversely with Yod for Alef in Is 61.6 /tityammāru/, and cf. Jer 17.8 /w'al yuval yšallah šorāšāw/ and Is 44.4 /ka'ārāvim 'al yivlē māyim/ (on Dn 8.2).

אֶפְסוֹ: with prosthetic Alef as in /'etmōl/, /'ezrōa', and /'ešmōr/ (on Dn 10.5).

אֶחָדָם: "descendants, posterity," cf. Am 4.2 (on Dn 11.4). **אֵשׁ**: applied to an angel as an individual as in Is 40.26 /'iš lo' ne'dār/ (on Dn 12.6).

אֶנָּה: synonymous with /'omnām/, cf. Ex 32.31 /'ānnā' hāṭā' hā'ām hazze/ and Ps 116.16 /'ānnā' yhw' ki 'āni 'avdehā/; *pace* Samuel ha-nagid, who holds that the word is composite, i.e. /'al/ and /nā/ with the Lamed assimilated as in /yuqqah/ (on Dn 9.4).

אֶשְׁרֵי: "physician" (on Dn 2.2).

* *Ibn Ezra* [Te'uda, VIII] (in Heb.) (Tel Aviv, 1992), pp. xvii + 220.

בָּגַ: perh. “cooked meat,” cf. Ez 25.7 /untattiḥā lvag (Q: lvaz)/ (on Dn 1.5); /pat bag/, “food” (on Dn 1.5 ad ib. 1.10).

בִּין Hi.: “to cause to understand” (on Dn 1.4); /nafšhā/ or /libbhā/ understood as obj. (on Dn 8.17, 9.23).

בֵּית: “royal court” (on 2Sm 5.8 ad Dn 1.4).

גִּדֵּל Pi.: “to educate” (on Dn 1.5).

גִּיל: hapax, attested only in Mishnaic Heb. as /ben gil/ (on Dn 1.10).

גִּירָה Hit.: cf. Dt 2.9 /’al titgār bām milḥāmā/ (on Dn 11.10).

דַּעַת: “idea or notion which is in one’s mind” (on Dn 1.4).

דִּקְאוֹן: “reproach”; cf. Is 66.24. Not a compound noun (on Dn 12.2).
So Men. 62,132.

ה־: the definite article serving as the relative אֲשֶׁר as in Josh 10.24 /hehālḥu’ ittō/ and Ez 26.17 /hā’ir hahullālā/ (on Dn 8.1).

הִיהָ Ni.: w. /šēnā/ as subj., “to suffer disruption”; opp. Jer 31.25 /ušnāti ’ārvā lli/; cf. Dn 8.27 /nihyēti wneḥēlēti/ and Mi 2.4 /nhi nihyā/ (on Dn 2.1).

הֵיךְ = /ēḥ/; for an interchange of /h/ and /’/ see Jer 52.15 /w’ēt yeter hā’āmōn/, Is 21.12 /šuvu ’ētāw/ (on Dn 10.17). Cf. Men., 136.

הִלֵּךְ Qal: “to go away” (on Dn 12.9).

הָמוֹן: /qōl hāmōn/ “noisy sound” (on Dn 10.6).

וְעַף Qal: subj. pers. (on Dn 1.10).

וְנָוֶה: applied to warships (on Dn 11.22).

[וְרֹעַ]: “berry, grain” (on Dn 1.12).

[וְרֵעוֹן]: with a secondary Nun as in /g’ēyōn/ and many such others (on Dn 1.16).

חֲזוֹת: a Chaldaean word meaning “entwined” (on Dn 8.5).

חֹזֶק Hi.: /maḥāziq bā’ittim/ “astrologer” (on Dn 11.6); /lēv/ as obj. understood (on Dn 11.32).

חִיב Pi.: cf. Ez 18.7 /ḥāvōlātō ḥōv/ (on Dn 1.10).

חֻלְקָה: cf. Is 30.10 /dabbru lānu ḥālāqōt/ (on Dn 11.32).

חֻלְקֻלָּקוֹת: /baḥālaqlaqqōt/ “in darkness, without the benefit of advice” (on Dn 11.21).

[חֲרָטָמַיִם]: “scientist,” cf. Gn 41.8 etc. /ḥarṭummē mišrayim/ (on Dn 2.2); not = /’aššāf/, see Dn 2.2 where the conjunction Waw joins the two words (on Dn 1.20).

חַתָּם Qal: making invisible as a consequence (on Dn 12.4).

טוֹב: /ṭōv mar’e/, “not pale (like a sick person)” (on Dn 1.4).

יָלֵךְ: can be so called at the age of 15 (on Dn 1.3 ad ib. 1.4).

יָם: = /ma’arav/ “west” (on Dn 8.4).

- יָצָר: “fatigue” due to much running, n. of the same pattern as /yqār/ in Ps 49.13 /’ādām biqār bal yālin/ (on Dn 9.21).
- יָשָׁר: pl. “peace” (on Dn 11.17).
- כֶּחַ: “strength” applied to the ability to suppress the call of nature and the urge to sneeze (on Dn 1.4).
- כִּלָּה Qal: “to be destroyed” (on Dn 11.16).
- כֵּן: = /matkonet/ “proper place, post” (on Dn 11.20).
- כַּשְׁדִּי: “astrologer” (on Dn 2.2).
- כִּשָּׁל Ni.: on decrees (on Dn 11.33).
- כַּשָּׁף Pi.: ptc., “magician” (on Dn 2.2).
- כֶּתֶם: a round object with gold in it (on Dn 10.5).
- מַדָּע: cf. Ec 10.20 /gam bmaddā’āhā ’al tqallēl/ (on Dn 1.4).
- מִמָּו: blindness and lameness, for instance, which disqualify a person from service in a royal court, cf. 2Sm 5.8 (on Dn 1.4).
- מִיָּשָׁר: pl. “peace” (on Dn 11.6).
- [מַכְמֶן]: cf. TrgOnk to Ex 21.13; perh. related to /darkmōnim/ (on Dn 11.43).
- מְלִצָּר: Chaldean word, “one who serves meals” (on Dn 1.11).
- מֶן: partitive (on Dn 11.7).
- מִנָּה Pi.: 1. “to appoint (an officer),” cf. MH ממונה (on Dn 1.11).
2. tr., “to provide regular portion of food” (on Dn 1.5), cf. Men. 242.
- מִצְעָד: /b-miṣ’ad-/ “to be obedient to” (on Dn 11.43).
- מִקְצָת: “part of,” cf. Gn 47.2 /miqṣē’ eḥāw/, or “at the end of (a period of time)” as in Dn 1.15 /umiqṣāt yāmim ’āšārā/ (on Dn 1.5), and Dn 1.18 /ulmiqṣāt hayyāmim/ (on Dn 1.18).
- מִרְאָה: “the way a person or an object looks” (on Dn 1.4).
- [מִרְגְּלוֹת]: “feet” (on Dn 10.6).
- מַרְעֶ: “to do evil things” (on Dn 11.27).
- מִרַּר Hitpalpal: /yitmarmar/, cf. Jer 31.20 /šimi lāḥ tamrurim/ (on Dn 11.11).
- מִשְׁחִית: “anointing oil,” derived from the root /m-š-h/ (on Dn 10.8).
- נֶגֶב: = /darom/ “south” (on Dn 8.4).
- נִסָּה Pi.: /nas/, impv. like in 1Kg 13.6 /ḥal nā’ ’et pnē yhwh/ (on Dn 1.12).
- נָתַךְ Qal: fig., cp. Ez 22.22 /tutṭḥu vtōḥā/ (on Dn 9.11).
- נִלְחָ Qal: obj. “iniquities” understood (on Dn 9.19).
- סִפְרָ: = /miḥtav/ “a writing, document” (on Dn 1.3 ad ib. 1.4).
- סָרִיס: courtier overseeing king’s wives (on Dn 1.3).
- עוֹלָם: “eternity” (on Dn 12.7).

עור Hi.: “to arouse” (on Dn 11.25).

עמד Qal: + neg. “to stink” <fig.?²> (on Dn 11.17).

עצם Qal: “to become powerful” (on Dn 8.8).

עָשָׂר: possibly used for any large number as in Ec 7.19 /mē‘āsārā šallitīm/ (on Dn 1.20).

פְּלִמוֹנִי compounded from Jdg 13.18 /pel(‘)i/ “anonymous” and /‘almōni/, which in turn is derived from /‘illēm/ “dumb” (on Dn 8.13).

פעם Ni. or Hit.: “to be in a state of profound shock,” cf. Ps 77.5 /nif‘amti wlō’ ‘ādabbēr/ (on Dn 2.1).

פְּרָתִימִים hapax except in Est 1.3, 6.9; perh. Chaldean or Persian like סִגָּן (on Dn 1.3).

צָבִי applied to the land of Israel (on Dn 8.9).

צדק Qal: “to be restored to one’s rightful position” (on Dn 8.14).

צִי: “fleet of ships” (on Dn 11.30).

צָעִיר = /qaṭan/ “small (in the number of troops)” (on Dn 8.9).

צִפִּיר: “buck of goats,” cf. Ezr 8.35 (on Dn 8.5).

קִדְשׁ: “site of sanctuary” (on Dn 8.13).

קָלָל: “polished, sharpened” (on Dn 10.6).

קָץ: “a long period of time,” the adj. being understood, cf. /‘anšē middōt/ “men of large sizes” (on Dn 8.17).

רַב: “great” as in Ps 48.3 /qiryat meleḥ rav/and important enough to be put in charge of others (on Dn 1.3).

רעד Hi.: <used intransitively> as in Ez 3.15 /mašmim btōḥām/ (on Dn 10.11).

שכל Hi.: = ידע Qal (on Dn 1.3 ad ib. 1.4).

שער Hit.: spelled with ש as in Ho 8.4 הִשִּׁירוּ (on Dn 11.40).

שוט Po.: as in Am 8.12 /yšōṭṭu lvaqqēš dvar yhwh/ (on Dn 12.4).

שָׁטַף Qal: “to bring ships” (on Dn 11.10).

שָׁם /šām šēm/, “to name, give a name” (on Dn 1.7).

שמע Qal: obj. “prayer” understood (on Dn 9.19).

שָׁקַד Qal: cf. Jer 1.12 /ki šōqēd ‘āni/ (on Dn 9.14).

תְּפִלָּה /biqqēš tfillā/, scil. “in one’s heart,” thus = “to pray” (on Dn 9.3).

THE INSCRIPTION OF 'EN 'ABDAT:
AN EARLY EVOLUTIONARY STAGE
OF ANCIENT ARABIC POETRY

BY

REUVEN SNIR

INTRODUCTION

The earliest known Arabic verses are from a period in which Arabic poetry was already fully developed in form, meter, rhyme and theme. Hence, it is assumed that this poetry must have gone through a long period of development before the composition of the earliest extant poems. "Their elaborate form and technical perfection", as Nicholson indicates, "forbid the hypothesis that in them we have 'the first sprightly runnings' of Arabian song" and like the Iliad and Odyssey "they are works of highly finished art, which could not possibly have been produced until the poetical art had been practised for a long time".¹ An inscription found in 1979 engraved on a rock above the gorge of 'En 'Abdat in the Negev provides an extraordinary glance into an early stage of this art. The inscription, which was first presented by A. Negev, Professor of Archeology at the Hebrew University,² contains six lines written in the Nabatean Alphabet, four of which are in Aramaic (referred to hereafter as AR) and two in Arabic (referred to hereafter as AT). Negev's article dates the inscription between 88/9 and 125/6 CE, and in any case before the year 150. Negev reads the inscription as follows:

* My thanks go to Prof. D. Semah for his careful reading of this paper and his helpful suggestions.

¹ R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge: University Press, 1969 (1907), p. xxii. Cf. H.A.R. Gibb, *Arabic literature*, Oxford: University Press, 1963 (1926), p. 14; C.J. Lyall (ed.), *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, London: Williams & Norgate, 1930, pp. xv-xvi. Some of the ancient poems allude to earlier poets and poems, e.g., *Diwān Imri' al-Qays*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1964, p. 114; *Diwān 'Antara*, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Miṣriyya, 1905, p. 77; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥbir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughā wa-Anwā'ihā*, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d., II, pp. 476-477. Cf. Shawqī Ḍayf, *al-'Asr al-Jāhili*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d., p. 183.

² A. Negev with a contribution by J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Obodas the God", *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986), pp. 56-60.

1. דכיר בטב קרא עבדת אלהא ודכיר
2. מן (ד)] ... הקים]
3. גרמאלי בר תימאלי צלם לקבל עבדת אלהא
4. פיפעל לא פדא ולא אתרא פכן הנא יבענא אלמותו לא
5. אבעה פכן הנא ארד גרחו לא ירדנא
6. גרמאלי כת <ב> בידה

AT (lines 4 + 5) is transcribed by Negev into literary Arabic and translated as follows:

4. فيفعل لا فدى ولا اثرا. فكان ان يبغنا الموت لا
5. ابغنه. فكان ان اراد جرح لا يردنا.

[4. And he acts neither for benefit nor for favour. And if death claim us let me not

5. be claimed. And if affliction seeks, let it not seek us.]

J.A. Bellamy in a recently published article³ suggested a different reading and translation of AT:

4. *fa-yaf'alu lā fidan (or fidā) wa-lā atharā fa-kāna hunā yabghīnā al-mawtū lā*

5. *abghāhu fa-kāna hunā adāda jurḥun lā yurdīnā*

[4. For (Obodas) works without reward or favour, and he, when death tried to claim us, did not

5. let it claim (us), for when a wound (of ours) festered, he did not let us perish.]

I. THE LITERARY AND POETIC VALUE

Certain aspects of AT, especially its poetic value, are beyond any doubt (Negev totally overlooks AT's poetic value. The following I-II were already indicated by Bellamy):

(I) AT is the earliest meaningful extant piece of literary Arabic, antedating the famous Namārah inscription of 328 by about two centuries.

(II) It is the first poetic text in support of the common-sense view that Arabic poetry must have gone through a long period of development before the composition of the earliest extant poems;

³ J.A. Bellamy, "Arabic Verses from the First/Second Century: The Inscription of 'En 'Abdat", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 35 (1990), pp. 73-79.

i.e., at least since the first or second centuries. Moreover it is the earliest text to include elements of the later Arabic metrics.

(III) AR reports, whereas at least part of AT (which makes use of the separate pronouns "I" and "we") may be understood as including a general truth.

(IV) AT includes the basic aesthetic principles of poetic utterances, such as repetitions, symmetries and especially parallelism, which is "the basic element of primitive poetry before such refinements as meter and rhyme were invented".⁴ This "arrangement of equally important ideas in similar grammatical constructions, often reinforced by verbal echoes ... acts as an organizing force directing the reader's attention to the elements that the writer wishes to emphasize".⁵

(V) AT contains a systematic structure of verbs and suffixed pronouns:

אֶ-הָ יֶ-נָא
נָא (הָ)-אֶ

The symmetry requires us to regard גָּרְחוּ as a noun in the accusative [= the suffixed pronoun (הָ)].

(VI) The above-mentioned (IV) & (V) demands one common root for יִבְעֵנָא and אִבְעָה and another for אָרַד and יִרְדֵּנָא; moreover, they require us to regard both verbs as synonyms. Indeed, the verbs *baghā* and *arāda* are synonyms ("he sought, desired"), and although they were attributed generally to animate or human beings it seems that both were also used metaphorically.⁶

⁴ A. Preminger (ed.), *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetics and Poetry*, Princeton: University Press, 1974, p. 599.

⁵ K. Beckson & A. Ganz, *Literary Terms*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1990, p. 191. Cf. R.D. Haak, "'Poetry' in Habakkuk 1:1-2:4", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988), pp. 437-444; D. Semah, "Poetry and its Audience according to Medieval Arab Poeticians", *Israel Oriental Studies* 11 (1991), pp. 96-101; C. Bailey, *Bedouin Poetry from Sinai and the Negev*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 423.

⁶ E.g., Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d., XIV, p. 76; E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968, III, p. 1184; *Dīwān Abī al-'Atābiyya*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d., p. 123. See also *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Cairo, 1963, XIII, p. 31 [= al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah* (ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Bajāwī), Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, pp. 373, 378].

II. A BILINGUAL WRITER

The Nabateans wrote in Aramaic but their spoken language was a north Arabic dialect. Other Nabatean inscriptions of this period include also Arabic words and phrases, but AT contains "the longest group of phrases to reach us to date" (Negev, p. 60). Garmalahi set up the statue for the deified king Obodas, whose cult persisted in the city, bearing his name, to the very end of paganism in the Negev. Negev argues that it may be surmised that as statues of kings were very rare, Garmalahi felt that he had done something relatively unusual in Nabatean religious practice and he found it necessary to protect himself by suitable formula. But as he could not find the words in the language which the Nabateans normally used for writing, he turned to his spoken language. Bellamy indicates that if Garmalahi was intended in line 4, the statement seems to be contradicted by the following sentence in which he hopes for the benefit of being kept safe from death or affliction. Bellamy takes this to refer to Obodas, suggesting that AT is a thank-offering by Garmalahi to the god who saved his life by curing him of an infected wound. Thus, if the god acts without being propitiated and without insisting on a reward, this is a tribute to his generosity.

The writer's switch from Aramaic to Arabic and then again to Aramaic, is crucial to the understanding of AT's literary value. A convincing explanation for this may be found by answering a simple question: in writing or speaking in a language nor their own, but one which they know well, when do Arabs return to Arabic? The answer is clear: when wanting to say something whose translation cannot convey the special linguistic, rhetorical, stylistic or aesthetic value and features embodied in the original, as in proverbs, common sayings or poetry.⁷ It seems then that Garmalahi turned to Arabic in order to cite a verse which was relevant to the situation. As to the identity of the poet: he was either Garmalahi himself or an unknown poet, whose wellknown verse suited the situation. The last line of the inscription ("Garmalahi wrote this with his own hand") seems to support the first option.

⁷ Cf. Jāhiz, *al-Haywān*, Cairo: al-Halabī, 1938, I, pp. 75-76: *al-shi'ru lā yustaṭā'u an yutarjama wa-lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-naqlu wa-matā huwwila taqāṭṭa'a nazmuhu wa-baṭala waḡnahu wa-dhababa ḡsnuhu wa-saqāṭa mawḍi'u al-ta'jjubi lā ka-l-kalāmi al-manthūri ... law huwwilat ḡkmatu al-'arabi la-baṭala dhālika al-mu'jizu alladhī huwa al-waḡnu ... inna al-turjumāna lā yu'ddī abadan mā qāla al-ḡakīmu ...*

III. THE STRUCTURE OF THE INSCRIPTION

Unlike Bellamy, I regard AT as including only one verse, which consists of two hemistiches preceded by a short introduction. The verse (referred to hereafter as V), a general truth explaining why Garmalahi could not have acted but “neither for benefit nor for favour” by erecting the statue, is of those verses “the early Arabs ... used to recite on various occasions (*fī ḥāditha*)”.⁸ It might have been among those single verses — separated syntactic unities — from whose medley the *qaṣīda* later developed. But it might also have been from a period in which the conventional *qaṣīda* already existed, in which case the relevant poem was a *nūniyya* i.e., with a very frequent and easy rhyme.

The whole inscription seems to have a rhetorical structure consisting of five parts (not corresponding to the numbering of the lines!) as follows:

- (A) Blessing.
- (B) *Why* was the inscription written? to indicate that the statue was erected by Garmalahi.
- (C) *Why* was the statue set up? “Neither for benefit nor for favour”, even if this indication by no means ruled out hopes of benefit from the god.
- (D) V.
- (E) *Who* wrote the inscription? Garmalahi.

In light of (C) it is reasonable to find in (D) an answer to another question: *why* is reward not expected by Garmalahi? V might have been a verse meant to indicate, on the basis of life experiences, that reward could not have been sought. It seems to be a famous verse with two conditional sentences,⁹ including a maxim (*ḥikma*) or proverb (*mathal*) or general truth of the kind which is wellknown from ancient Arabic poetry or “Proverbs of the Arabs”. Further indication of this structure may be found in the change of the pronouns: whereas “he” is used in parts (A)-(C), “I” / “we” and “me” / “us” are used in (D).

⁸ Al-Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu‘arā’* (ed. J. Hell), Leiden: Brill, 1916, p. 10. Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi‘r wa-l-Shu‘arā’* (ed. M.J. De Goeje), Leiden: Brill, 1904, p. 36 in which *‘inda ḥudūth al-ḥāja* (in case of need) comes instead of *fī ḥāditha*. See also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥbir*, II, p. 474.

⁹ See below nn. 24-27 and also the numerous proverbs in al-Maydānī’s *Majma’ al-Amthāl* and Freytag’s *Arabum Proverbia* consisting of conditional constructions.

Some options for the content of V: life and death are not influenced by a human being's desire or by any god, since death is blind;¹⁰ man cannot escape death no matter what he does;¹¹ a human being cannot attain all he wants, and sometimes the events go against his will.¹² It could also be a verse like that of Bashshār ibn Burd (714-783):

Urīdu wa-lā u'ṭā wa-u'ṭā wa-lam urid
Wa-qaṣṣarra 'ilmī an anāla al-mughayyaba

[I desire and am not given it, I am given when I did not desire;
 My wit is too small to fathom secrets of providence].¹³

This outlook on human life and the inevitability of death is found frequently in later Islamic asceticism (*ṣūḥd*), some elements of which were found in pre-Islamic poetry.¹⁴ Being from a period in which paganism was beginning to disappear in the Negev, V may also shed light on the religious beliefs of the ancient Arabs and their limited trust in the strength of their gods. It may even explain the later success of Christianity and then of Islam among them.

IV. THE ARAMAIC TEXT (AR)

My reading is based upon the photograph of the inscription (Negev, Plate 11B), its sketch (Negev, p. 57) and the above-mentioned rhetorical structure. The inscription begins with a blessing to the reader, but a close look at the photograph and the sketch leaves no doubt regarding line 2: **מִן כָּתַב** i.e., a blessing to "he who wrote" the inscription as well, like the graffito at Petra (Negev, p. 58). At the

¹⁰ E.g., *Sharḥ Dīwān Zuhayr*, Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Hamīdiyya, 1323 H, p. 13.

¹¹ E.g., *Dīwān 'Antara*, p. 67; *Dīwān Nābiga Banī Shaybān*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1932, p. 30; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Shākir & Hārūn), Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1964, p. 422; Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, Cairo: Sabīḥ, n.d., I, pp. 33, 123; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, p. 31 [= al-Marzubānī, pp. 373, 378]. Cf. Bailey, *Bedouin Poetry*, pp. 149-151, 409; C. Bailey, "Bedouin Religious Practices in Sinai and the Negev", *Anthropos* 77 (1982), pp. 72-73.

¹² E.g., al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, Beirut: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa, n.d., p. 472; *al-Ḥamāsa*, p. 39.

¹³ *Selections From the Poetry of Baṣṣār* (ed. & tran. A.F. Beeston), Cambridge: University Press, 1977, p. 9 (translation p. 43).

¹⁴ A. Hamori, "Ascetic Poetry" in: J. Ashtiany and others (ed.), *'Abbāsīd Belles-Letters*, Cambridge: University Press, 1990, p. 265. On this outlook in Islamic ascetic poetry see, for example, *Dīwān Abī al-'Atābiyya*.

unclear part of line 2 we can read the letters ג-א-ל-ה, certainly indicating the word גרמאלי. Negev overlooked another word written between lines 2 and 3 in smaller letters of which we can identify the letters: --נ-ה or --ב-ה. This might be a verb indicating "to erect" from the root בנה added by the writer after he had noted the absence of a verb in the second sentence. The three first lines should be read and translated as follows:

1. דכיר בטב קרא קדם עבדת אלהא ודכיר
2. מן כתב גרמאלי.
3. גרמאלי בר תימאלי בנה(?) צלם לקבל עבדת אלהא.

[1 + 2. May he who reads (this inscription) be remembered in good before Obodas the god, and may Garmalahi who wrote (it) be remembered.

3. Garmalahi son of Taymalahi set up a statue before Obodas the god.]

AR and AT were planned to be written in separate lines and thus when the writer was left with one word אלהא after completing line 3 he wrote it above the text of this line and not in the opening of line 4.

V. THE ARABIC TEXT (AT)

AT opens with an assertion on behalf of the writer that he does not seek any benefit by setting up the statue. Although there is no doubt, apparently, according to this meaning, different readings are possible for the words פדא and אתרא. The root *FDY* is mainly used for "ransom" but may also refer to any form of reward. Thus, *lā fidan* or *lā fidā'an* may be understood as not seeking any reward or glorification, or even not asking to be preserved from misfortune. The word *athar* exists in the meaning of *ajal* (period of life),¹⁵ but I prefer to read *lā ithrā'an* (not willing to be rich) and accordingly also *lā fidā'an*, in part because the accusative of the undefined nouns in AT comes without *alif*. The first part of AT aiming at introducing V can be transcribed into literary Arabic and translated as follows:

fa-yaf'alu lā fidā'an wa-lā ithrā'an

[And he acts neither for preserving himself from misfortune nor for willing to be rich].

¹⁵ Ibn Manẓūr, IV, p. 6. Cf. Lane, I, p. 19.

This sentence seems to be written in Arabic because it was a common saying or an attempt to use some rhetorical device (*laḥf wa-naṣhr*), as indicated below. Bellamy's suggestion that it is part of V is less reasonable.

Each hemistich of V begins with the same two words. Bellamy believes that כֵּן הִנָּה should be understood as *kāna idhā*, not as a conditional but as a marker of the past; i.e., that a single act of the god is referred to. He suggests reading *abghāhu*, a Form IV verb, taking the god as the subject and the verbal suffix as referring to death. As the causative sense of Form IV verbs often extends to the idea of "permitting, enabling", he translated "let claim" and understands the verb *yurdīnā* in the same manner. Taking AT as referring to the god is possible from the linguistic point of view, but the poetic nature of the text rules this out. It overlooks the symmetry between the pronouns and the distinctions between "he" in both AR and the first part of AT regarding Obodas and Garmalahi, and "I" / "we" in V.¹⁶ The same may be said regarding Bellamy's reading *adāda* instead of *arāda*, based upon the conjuration: "*a'ẓimu 'alayka ayyuhā al-jurḥu an lā tazīda wa-lā tudīda*",¹⁷ quoted and translated by Lane: "I conjure thee, O wound, that thou increase not nor breed worms".¹⁸ Bellamy indicates that since wounds do not really breed worms, this can only mean "become infected, suppurate". But al-Zamakhsharī quoted it after the words *wa-fī 'aẓīmat al-'Arab* (and among the charms or spells of the Arabs recited for the cure of diseases and to save life).¹⁹ Thus, "nor breed worms" should be understood as "nor cause death" since a wound with worms is a wound in a dead body, in a corpse! Moreover, it is not improbable that the original conjuration used the words *wa-lā tubīda* ("nor cause death") instead of *wa-lā tudīda*. Hence, it is unreasonable for AT to include the verb *adāda*, even from the semantic point of view not to mention the destruction of the above-mentioned symmetry and

¹⁶ Bellamy's awareness of the rhetorical structure of the Namāra inscription [J.A. Bellamy, "A New Reading of the Namāra Inscription", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 (1985), p. 46] and of the symmetry between *lam yajnihi* in line 2 and *janaytu* in line 3 in the Jabal Ramm inscription [J.A. Bellamy, "Two Pre-Islamic Arabic Inscriptions Revised: Jabal Ramm and Umm al-Jimal", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 108 (1988), p. 372] produced more reasonable readings than earlier ones.

¹⁷ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1922, I, p. 278.

¹⁸ Lane, III, p. 929.

¹⁹ Cf. Lane, V, p. 2038.

parallelism. Negev's interpretation that an Aramaic form was used in **אבעה** giving it the passive meaning "let me not be claimed" is doubtful since it assumes that Arabic and Aramaic forms can be used side by side.

My suggestion is to regard the verbs in V as synonyms. Two options are possible according to the words **פכן הנה**:

(I) Regarding them as synonyms of the conditional phrase *kullamā* (whenever, every time that). A similar structure is found, although very rarely, in ancient Arabic poetry and proverbs.²⁰ In this case **ל** can be read instead of **ך**. The word **הנה** can be read as *hin'un* (a part of the night) which generally also designates "time" or *hinwun* (time).²¹

(II) I prefer to read **פכן הנה**; i.e., what was read by Negev as **כ** should be read as **י**. This reading is possible because these two letters are similar and because of a comparison with the **י** in **פיפעל** and **יבענא**. The *yā'* was used here instead of the *hamza* with *kasra*; i.e., **פין** designates *fa-in* (if). We should read **הנה** as *hanā* — a synonym of *anā* (I).²² The verbal suffixes which express the accusative in the plural 1.p. might, at the time of the inscription, have also designated the singular 1.p. pronoun, perhaps under the influence of **הנה**. Another option is that the poet used a prefixed pronoun in the singular (I) to express the nominative and in the plural to express the accusative (us), as is found in ancient poetry.²³

A structure consisting of two conditional phrases in one verse (generally the construction, *fa-in...wa-in*) is very common in ancient Arabic poetry.²⁴ There also frequently exist separate pronouns after

²⁰ E.g., Al-Mutanabbī, p. 250; G.W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1968 (1838-1943), II, p. 391.

²¹ Ibn Manẓūr, XV, p. 365.

²² Ibn Manẓūr, XV, p. 485.

²³ E.g., *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, pp. 72-74, 431.

²⁴ E.g., *Dīwān Imrī' al-Qays*, p. 186 (2 successive verses); *Dīwān 'Antara*, p. 25; *Dīwān Ṭarafa ibn al-'Abd* (ed. M. Seligsohn), Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1951, pp. 24 (*fa-in tabghini!*), 34, 152; *Dīwān al-A'shā*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1966, p. 208; *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī* (ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1977, pp. 74, 117, 130; *Dīwān Aws ibn Ḥajar*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960, p. 29; *Dīwān Ḥassān ibn Thābit* (ed. Walīd 'Arafat), London: Messrs Luzac, 1971, p. 25; *Dīwān Nābigha Banī Shaybān*, p. 107; *Dīwān Dhī al-Rumma* (ed. C.H. Macartney), Cambridge: University Press, 1919, p. 6 (2 verses); *Shi'r al-Akhṭal* (ed. A. Salhani), Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1891, p. 11; *Dīwān 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a*, Beirut: Ṣā'b, 1980, II, pp. 211 (3 verses), 286-287 (4 successive verses!), 308, 364 (2 successive verses); *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 161 (= 162), 255, 410; *al-Ḥamāsa*, I, pp. 22, 168, 328, 472, II, 79,

*in*²⁵ and sometimes even in verses with the structure of *fa-in...wa-in*.²⁶ Moreover, we even found a structure similar to the first hemistich of V.²⁷

lā is used with the *majzūm* as is found, probably as an archaic phenomenon, in later Arabic such as in the *Qur'ān*²⁸ and in one of the ancient proverbs.²⁹ One may assume that *lam* replaced *lā* before the jussive only at later times as we find in the Namāra inscription.³⁰ Another option is to read with reservation *lam*, based upon the similarity of the final *alif* and *mīm* in the inscription.

It is very tempting to regard גרה as a synonym of "death" assuming that when the inscription was written the word *jurh* had the meaning of "a wound that causes death". Nevertheless, a much more reasonable option is to read *jazhū* which has the meaning of "gain, earnings, profit". Moreover, in ancient Arabic the roots *JZH* and *JRH* were partially synonymous as in the synonym phrases *jarahā labu min mālihi* and *jazaḥa labu min mālihi*.³¹ In other words, the

90, 279; *Dīwān Abī Nuwās* (ed. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ghazālī), Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, p. 610; *Dīwān Abī al-'Atābiyya*, pp. 47, 255 (4 successive verses!); Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-La'ālī* (ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī), Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1936, II, p. 943. Cf. Semah, pp. 100-101.

²⁵ E.g., *Dīwān 'Antara*, p. 15; *al-Ḥamāsa*, I, pp. 271, 311, 454, II, pp. 26, 236; *Dīwān Ḥassān*, p. 367; *Dīwān 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a*, II, pp. 211, 236; *Dīwān Abī al-'Atābiyya*, pp. 182, 255. Cf. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, Oxford: University Press, 1984, p. 250.

²⁶ E.g., *al-Ḥamāsa*, II, pp. 31, 34, 138.

²⁷ E.g., *fa-in anta lam taṣduqka nafsuka...* (*Dīwān Labīd*, Beirut: Dār Šādir, 1966, p. 131).

²⁸ *Fātir*, 14.

²⁹ *In yabghī 'alayka qawmuka lā yabghī 'alayka al-qamaru* (al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthāl*, Beirut: Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1961, I, p. 41; Freytag, *op. cit.*, I, p. 43). Others examples to the use of *lā* before the jussive in conditional constructions in the *sharṭ* or *jawāb* see: al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n.d., p. 256; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921, p. 487; R. Sterling, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, London: Kegan, 1904, p. 230. A use of the jussive after *illā* (*in + lā*) in conditional constructions can be added [e.g., *al-Anfāl*, 73; *al-Tawba*, 39; *Hūd*, 47; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge: University Press, 1975 (1859-62), II, p. 39]. Cf. W. Fischer, "Die Perioden des Klassischen Arabisch", *Abr-Nabrain* 12 (1972), p. 18.

³⁰ Bellamy, "Namāra", p. 35.

³¹ Ibn Manẓūr, II, p. 423; al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, Cairo, 1923, p. 218; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, Kuwait: Maṭba'at al-Hukūma, 1969, VI, pp. 339-340. See also *al-An'am*, 60; *Dīwān Ḥassān*, p. 353; Ibn Fāris, *Muǧmal al-Lughā*, Beirut: al-Risāla, 1984, I, p. 186; al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1956, I, p. 358; Ibn Sida, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo: Būlāq, 1318 H, VIII, pp. 141-142; al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib*, Aleppo: Maktabat Usāma ibn Zayd, 1979, I, 138; Lane, II, 405.

second part of V indicates that not only life and death but worldly achievements too are not in the hands of the human being. Hence, AT provides us with a rhetorical device known from the later *Badī'* as *laḥf wa-nashr murattab*:³² *lā fidā'an* refers to the first part of V and *lā ithrā'an* to its second part. My preferred reading of V is as follows:

Fa-in hanā yabghinā al-mawtu lā abghibi

Wa-in hanā urid jazhan lā yuridnā

[If death wants me, I do not want it

And if I want any gain, it does not want me]

A striking similarity in structure is found between V and other ancient verses regarding the pronouns,³³ or even regarding the use of the verb *baghā* with *fa-in*.³⁴ Ascribing to death a desire to hit human beings is also known from the ancient poetry.³⁵

VI. PROSODY

V is the sole verse preserved from ancient poetry about which we can say without doubt that it escaped the later treatment of the Arab metricians. This treatment and the uniformity that we observe in ancient poetry, which "may be due to limitations in the scholarly interest of its collectors",³⁶ justifies Weil's indication that "the casuistic expositions of the Arabic metricians have such a repellent character that it seemed justifiable to disregard them completely".³⁷ By imposing conventional metrics on AT Bellamy uses the same method applied after the rise of Islam to ancient poems after which almost only those corresponding to their standards have come down to us. This strict censorship, the imposition of later standards on the

³² See, e.g., 'Abd al-Qādir Husayn, *Fann al-Badī'*, Beirut-Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1983, pp. 71-75; Magdī Wahbah, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*, Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1974, p. 139.

³³ E.g., *al-Ḥamāsa*, II, pp. 33, 34.

³⁴ E.g., *fa-in tabghinī* ... (*Dīwān Ṭarafa*, p. 24).

³⁵ *Dīwān Abī al-ʿAtāhiyya*, p. 123.

³⁶ I. Lichtenstadter, *Introduction to Classical Literature*, New York: Schocken, 1974, p. 21.

³⁷ *EL*, I (1960), p. 674 (art. 'Arūd). As against Weil's opinion, Prof. D. Semah maintains that "much of what has been learnt about Arabic prosody was, in fact, suggested in one way or the other by these prosodists but in terms different from ours" ["The Rhythmical Function of the *Wāṭid* and the *Fāṣila*", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983), p. 334].

primitive texts written before the standardisation of Arabic poetry, and the subjection of its prosody to the uniformity of al-Khalīl's meters, was possible owing to the orality of the ancient poetry but is impossible in the case of the primitive text of AT; i.e., the only pre-Islamic verse which we can be sure has come down to us unchanged was not written according to al-Khalīl's metrics!

Assuming that the principle of long and short syllables was the basis of Arabic prosody, V may illustrate one of its evolutionary stages. Dividing it into syllables, the following scheme is received (◡ = short; – = long):

Fa-in hanā yabghinā al-mawtu lā abghibi

◡ – ◡ – – ◡ – – ◡ – – ◡ –

Fa-in hanā urid jazhan lā yuridnā

◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – – ◡ – –

According to later prosody the first hemistich (*al-ṣadr*) has variations of the feet MUSTAF'ILUN or MAFĀ'ILUN + 3 feet of FĀ'ILUN. The second hemistich (*al-'ajuz*) also has variations of MUSTAF'ILUN or MAFĀ'ILUN + MAFĀ'ILUN + FĀ'ILĀTUN. In one (!) verse there are four feet of the later prosody; i.e., although the rhythmic feet of this prosody were used in the first centuries CE, the particular combinations of al-Khalīl's meters were not the sole ones used or were not known at all. One may assume that al-Khalīl found certain frequent combinations of the feet repeated systematically in the ancient poems he heard, but it is evident that these combinations were not the sole possible ones. V also seems to correspond somehow to the system of the five metric circles (*al-dawā'ir al-'arūḍiyya*), whose order was distinguished by al-Khalīl. These circles are based on an arithmetical principle and arranged according to the number of consonants (each hemistich consisting of 24 or 21 or 20 consonants) in the mnemonic words of the meters which compose them. The first hemistich of V, after being converted into the usual mnemonic words of the meters, consists of 21/22 consonants, and the second consists of 19/20 consonants.

We assume that if later Arabic prosodists had been required to impose one of al-Khalīl's meters on V they would have chosen the *basīṭ* by the following division of syllables in the first hemistich:

◡ – ◡ – / – ◡ – / (–) – ◡ – / – ◡ –

They would have read *al-mawtu* with *hamẓat al-qat'*, one of the later

poetic licenses of *qaṭ' alif al-waṣl* (the retaining of *alif* with *hamza*).³⁸ This may illustrate the method of establishing the poetic licenses (*darā'ir*), by which the poet may make some change either in the consonants or in the vowels of a word. Furthermore, it can illustrate the establishment of the varieties of syllables in the feet of the different meters. As for the second hemistich, the later prosodists would have also chosen the *basīṭ* based upon the following division:

◡ — ◡ — / ◡ — — / — — ◡ — / —

We have here FA'ŪLUN instead of FĀ'ILUN and only one syllable in the last foot. Overlooking Bellamy's attempt to impose later standards on AT, his suggestion to regard it as consisting of three hemistiches in the *ṭawīl* demanding three false quantities is therefore less reasonable. Assuming that Arabic poetry in that early period was already using the two hemistich-division in each verse, I prefer to regard AT as including only one verse with two hemistiches. Nevertheless the first part of AT might also be regarded as one hemistich of another verse:

Fa-yaf'alu lā fidā'an wa-lā itbrā'an
◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — —

or if we read it another way:

Fa-yaf'alu lā fidan wa-lā atbaran
◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — —

It may be considered one hemistich (a *maṣṭūr* line) in the *wāfir* or in the *ṭawīl*. The other hemistich of the verse seems to be omitted, since it was not suitable for the situation mentioned in the inscription.

V seems to represent one of the primitive stages of Arabic poetry in which no strict and compulsive metrical and rhythmical systems existed. Nevertheless, some features of the later metrics can be identified: a rhythmic structure; a systematic division into long and short syllables; signs of metrical feet; and the existence of eight rhythmic feet in the verse. The nature of V contradicts the attempt to describe the creation of meters as the first stage of the development of Arabic poetry.³⁹ We assume that after the rise of Islam, Arab

³⁸ E.g., Ibn 'Uṣfūr, *Ḍarā'ir al-Shi'r* (ed. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad), Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1980, pp. 53-55.

³⁹ *Wa-kāna al-kalāmu kulluhu manḥūran fa-ḥtājati al-'Arabu ilā al-ghinā'i bimakārimi akblāqihā wa-ṭayyibi a'rāqihā ... fa-tawabhamu a'ārīda fa-'amaluhā mawāzina li-l-kalāmi falamā tamma labum waḥnubū sammwabu shi'ran* (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥbir*, II, p. 472).

scholars, philologists and grammarians assimilated from the ancient poems coming down to them, *'Ilm al-'Arūd* (the Science of Metre) and *'Ilm al-Qāwāfī* (the Science of Rhyme) and considered every deviation, especially in metrics, to be *qabīḥ*.⁴⁰ Hence, the primitive poetry was not preserved in its original forms except a few poems, whose metrics are described by ancient critics as so irregular that they cannot be considered verses.⁴¹ In this light one may reconsider G. Weil's indication that "ancient Arabic poems were already written and recited in the known metres a hundred years before Islam and they retained their form more or less unchanged in the succeeding centuries".⁴² V also rejects arguments such as that of al-Jāḥiẓ that Arabic poetry existed 200 years before Islam at most.⁴³ Moreover it raises doubts concerning some of the theories about the essence of Arabic metrics, like Hartmann's theory about the development of the various meters and their derivation from one original meter in particular.⁴⁴ V indicates that forms of the ancient poems were not always and only the same as those which have reached us, even if this does not support the argument whereby pre-Islamic poetry, if not mostly spurious, has been much tampered with by philologists.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ E.g., Qudāma ibn Ja'far, *Naqd al-Shi'r* (ed. Khafājī), Cairo: al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyya, 1978, pp. 178-180.

⁴¹ E.g., *Dīwān 'Abid ibn al-Abras*, Beirut: Dār Šādir, 1964, pp. 23-30. On the rarity and unfamiliarity of the meter of this *qaṣīda* see: *The Dīwāns of 'Abid ibn al-Abras and 'Amir Ibn Tufail* (ed. C. Lyall), Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1980 (1913), pp. 5, 11; 'Abdallah Muḥammad al-Ghadhāmī, *al-Šawt al-Qadīm al-Jadīd*, Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'Āmma, 1987. Cf. Dayf, *al-'Asr*, pp. 184-185; Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Hūfi, *al-Hayāt al-'Arabiyya min al-Shi'r al-Jāhili*, Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1972, pp. 198-199.

⁴² *EI*, I (1960), p. 668 (art. 'Arūd).

⁴³ Jāḥiẓ, *al-Haywān*, I, p. 74.

⁴⁴ M. Hartmann, *Metrum und Rhythmus*, Giessen, 1896.

⁴⁵ E.g., D.S. Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic Poetry", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, pp. 415-449; Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Fī al-Adab al-'Arabī*, Cairo, 1927. On the questions concerning the composition, transmission and authenticity of ancient poetry and its relationship with the oral tradition and composition see J.T. Monroe, "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 3 (1972), pp. 1-53; M. Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978; Saad Andullah Sowayan, *Nabati Poetry: The Oral Poetry of Arabia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985.

VII. ORTHOGRAPHY

The letters ʾ and ʾ and ʾ indicate not only their parallels in Arabic but also *ghain*, *thā'* and *ẓāy*. Final *dammah* is written *w* as in *al-mawtu*. *Tanwīn* in the accusative is also written *w* as in *jazḥu*. AT may date from a time in which the *tanwīn* in the accusative was not used, as we also find in the Namāra inscription regarding proper names.⁴⁶ Based upon my reading of *fidā'an* and *itbrā'an* one may assume that AT reflects a situation prevailing in those dialects of old Arabic, in which *hamza* was not written when coming without *kursī*.⁴⁷ The *hamza* of the word *in* was replaced by *yā'* when compounded with *fa* and *wa*. Our assumption is that *fa-in* had passed through these stages in Arabic script: فَيْن → فَنِنْ → فَانْ. It can be compared with words with medial *hamza* on *kursī yā'*, or even with the case of *in* compounded with *lam* in *la-in* (if indeed), in which the *hamza* was sometimes replaced in Arabic manuscripts and papyri with *yā'*.⁴⁸ In contrast to Bellamy, my reading proves that AT cannot indicate that medial long vowels were not written since it does not include any such vowels due to the writer's being aware of conditional constructions. In general the orthography followed Arabic script and the inscription seems to be from a time and place in which Arabic was written both in Nabatean and in Arabic script. When written in Nabatean, the transcription was very accurate according to the Arabic letters. This fact is also supported by the Arabic inscriptions from the third and fourth centuries: part of them is in Nabatean script and the other in Arabic script. Moreover, even the Namāra inscription may be read without the addition of any medial long vowels.

CONCLUSION

The inscription of 'En 'Abdat provides a rare glance into an evolutionary primitive stage of Arabic poetry, in which no strict and compulsive metrical and rhythmical systems existed. Being the sole

⁴⁶ C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London: Taylor, 1951, pp. 56-57; Bellamy, "Namāra", p. 36. Cases showing absence of *tanwīn alif* are frequent in papyri datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D. (See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-166.)

⁴⁷ Cf. Rabin, *op. cit.*, p. 134, 141; Hopkins, pp. 19-32.

⁴⁸ E.g., N. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, Chicago: University Press, 1939, pp. 69-68; J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain: CSCO, 1966, p. 84; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

poetic preserved pre-Islamic text without any doubt as to its originality, V indicates that the forms of the ancient poems were not always like those of the texts which have reached us. Still, in principle it could be quoted side by side with those many references which “strengthen the claim to the authenticity of what was retrieved of the *djabiliyya* poetry”.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *EI*², I (1960), p. 567 art. 'Arabiyya.

REVIEWS

Jesús-Luis Cunchillos, *La Trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 2. Bibliographie Ras Shamra-Ougarit V* (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations: Paris, 1990). Pp. 202. ISSN 0291-1655 ISBN 2-86538-205-9. Price: FF 101.

Over the last ten years Cunchillos has compiled a bibliography for the tablets found at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit and the result is the present volume. For each text, listed by excavation number, references are provided giving the *editio princeps* (where applicable) and any further studies of that text. The tablets are grouped more or less by language into nine sections: Sumerian, Akkadian, Sumero-Hurrian, Akkadian-Hurrian, Hurrian, Hittite, Cypro-Minoan, syllabic texts from Ras Ibn Hani and Ugaritic. Within the chapters on Sumerian, Akkadian and Ugaritic there are further sub-sections according to genre (religious texts, letters, etc.), and the Hurrian texts are either syllabic or alphabetic. Indices are included which help locate a text quite easily and at the beginning there is a list of the abbreviations used for series and periodicals.

As the entries have been computer-generated there is considerable repetition, since information is given in full each time. The result is ease of reference at the expense of space. The cut-off date is 1985, though there is at least one reference to 1987 (p. 130) and supplements are planned to bring TEO 2 up to date. This is undoubtedly "un instrument de travail" which will eventually replace the bibliographies scattered in various editions and translations of the tablets found at Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani. Like the companion volume, TEO 1 (reviewed in *Abr-Nahrain* 29 [1991] 129-130), it will be indispensable as a reference work for study of the texts and languages used in the ancient Near East.

The compilation is also useful for other aspects of Ugaritic study. It is immediately evident, for example, that while certain tablets, chiefly the literary texts, have been studied intensively, many others have been completely neglected. The picture will be somewhat different when the period after 1985 is surveyed particularly with regard to the commercial and ritual texts. Also, more attention has been paid, since, to the syllabic texts, chiefly those in Akkadian. We look forward to the speedy appearance of the supplements.

Wilfred G.E. WATSON

M. Yon, with A. Caubet, J. Connan, E. Coqueugniot, O. Deschesne, C. Elliot and H. Frost, *Arts et industries de la pierre. Ras Shamra-Ougarit VI*. (Maison de l'Orient: Lyon, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations: Paris,

1991). Pp. 410, numerous figures and plates. ISBN 2-86538-218-0. Price: FF 242.

Reports on worked stone are often relegated to the status of short catalogues appended to detailed typological studies of ceramics and other, supposedly more diagnostic, artefacts. It is, therefore, encouraging to see a volume specifically devoted to stone working and stone artefacts. It is also unusual that detailed study has been undertaken on material from a Late Bronze Age site. The wealth of data from major historical sites normally overshadows the significance of stone objects. Several of the authors (e.g. Elliot, Coqueugniot) have commented on the lack of previous work, and the need for more detailed study in these fields. Publication of this volume should provide valuable comparative data, and encourage work of similar standard to be undertaken elsewhere.

The volume contains eight studies on various aspects of stone working at Ras Shamra. The first, and most lengthy, of these is by Carolyn Elliot on the ground stone industry. Elliot is known for her careful analyses of Cypriot ground stone (e.g. Elliot in E.J. Peltenburg *et al.* 1985. *Excavations at Lemba Lakkous, 1976-1983*, Göteborg), and she has applied the same attention to the Ras Shamra finds. Her report is in the form of a catalogue of artefacts, which includes grinding and rubbing stones, mortars, weights, beads, moulds and stone vessels. In a short section at the end, she discusses artefact distribution, demonstrating that study of apparently mundane domestic items can be of value in archaeological reconstruction.

Connan, Deschesne and Dessort report on the occurrence of bitumen both as a mastic and laid onto wall surfaces. Despite exploitation of a local source, bitumen was not extensively used at Ras Shamra. Coqueugniot has contributed an exceptionally detailed analysis of the chipped stone. Much of this is in the form of used blanks and sickle blades. A total of nearly 450 sickle elements has allowed him to look more closely at the shape of the pieces in relation to one another, and to attempt various reconstructions of hafting methods.

Caubet has produced two reports, one on stone vessels and a second on alabasters. She makes it clear in the preamble to the first section that she has not provided exhaustive catalogues for either group of objects. The reports are limited to luxury items and their distribution within the ancient town. Both are well illustrated with line drawings and photographs. Sculpture is treated in two sections by Marguerite Yon, one of which deals specifically with stone stelae and cultic places. Strong Egyptian influences by the stelae are a reminder of the importance of Ras Shamra as an international maritime power.

Seafaring is also the topic of the final paper by Honor Frost on stone anchors. Frost has an interesting discussion on the context of stone anchors. She argues that many anchors found in architectural contexts were

not simply re-used stones, but were placed there deliberately, and had a symbolic meaning of some kind. The paper is devoted to an analysis of types of anchor and their use on vessels of the time, followed by a catalogue of the anchors recovered from the Ras Shamra excavations.

The volume is well presented, with generous illustrations, including both half-tone plates and line drawings. It is an impressive example of how much detailed information can be obtained from categories of artefacts which traditionally receive little attention, and is an important research tool which will be of value to scholars in a wide range of disciplines.

Alison BETTS

E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments. Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica*. (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: Stuttgart, 1988). 5. Aufl., ISBN 3-438-06006-x.

The fifth edition of the well-known publication, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, represents a thorough revision ("gründlich überarbeitet") of the fourth edition, published in 1973. The reasons why the author decided to do so, are clear: new text editions have appeared, and important developments in the study of the textual witnesses and of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible have taken place.

The revisions concern, first, the adaptation of the *sigla* to those of BHS (beside those of BHK) in order to make the new edition a more adequate introduction to BHK and BHS as well (see in part. pp. 51-53). Secondly, in many cases the notes at the bottom of the pages have been enlarged, above all by adding references to recent studies. Thirdly, the main text of the book has been revised in several places. The most important changes in this respect are the following ones: on pp. 16f. a new passage is found on the emergence of the standard text of about 100 A.D. (however, the "old" idea of the synod of Jamnia is still there); on pp. 18f. a critical note on the local text theory of Cross has been added; on p. 63 a new passage has been inserted about the so-called *kaige*-recension; on pp. 75f. a more critical view on Kahle's theory has been formulated, though, at the same time, it is stated that the Targum-hypothesis is to be maintained on the basis of the following considerations: (a) LXX Pentateuch has been preceded by earlier translations of certain passages, because of the use of the Law in liturgy or for study; (b) LXX Pentateuch has been revised several times, so that "der Eindruck einer Pluralität von Übersetzungen (= Targumen) entstehen konnte" (p. 76). As to (b) Würthwein is referring to revisions such as the *kaige*-recension. It must be pointed out that the term *targum* is used here in a sense quite different from the one implied in the theory of Kahle. On pp. 97-99 the passage on the Peshitta has been updated.

In the chapter called *Textkritik*, the most important change concerns the goal of textual criticism. "Als Ziel der Textkritik galt lange Zeit die

Erarbeitung des Textes, in dem die alttestamentlichen Bücher vorlagen, als sie ihre heutige Gestalt nach Umfang und Inhalt bereits erreicht hatten und zu kanonischen Schriften wurden, was — im einzelnen verschieden — seit dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. geschah" (p. 116). Mainly because of the variety and the fluidity of the Biblical texts in the centuries before 100 (A.D.) Würthwein has reformulated the aim of textcriticism as follows: "Man wird es vielmehr in der Erarbeitung eines Textes zu sehen haben, der unter Berücksichtigung der Textzeugen und aufgrund textkritischer Überlegungen... die grösste äussere und innere Wahrscheinlichkeit besitzt, d.h. eines Textes, der die Entstehung einer abweichenden oder fehlerhaften Lesart möglichst plausibel macht und mit dem Kontext im engeren und weiteren Sinne in Einklang steht" (p. 117). The difference between the old and new definition is not quite clear. The emphasis on the fluidity seems to exclude the possibility of going back, in time, to the text of a book as early as possible (before 100), though later on in the chapter Würthwein has retained the terms "Urtext" (p. 130) and "Urgestalt" (p. 133). It may be that the difference between both definitions is not as great as it seems to be, for the new definition implies the attempt not only of reconstructing the best text, but also of going back, in time, to the text of a book as early as possible (i.e. on the basis of the earliest textual witnesses [LXX and Qumran], and on internal grounds).

As to the method of textual criticism the revision on p. 125 regarding the value of the medieval MSS is to be noticed: it is stated, rightly so, that these late materials are of no significance for the question of the pre-masoretic tradition.

The new (fifth) edition of *Der Text des Alten Testaments* represents a revision of the fourth one in important and crucial places, and is as such to be welcomed. However, for the sixth edition I would suggest the following changes to be made: the introduction of a separate chapter on the biblical texts from Qumran, an updating of the status quaestionis as far as the targumim are concerned (the fifth edition has retained the assumption of a very early date for the so-called Palestinian targum, and a reference to the contemporary discussion on the types of Aramaic is missed), a rehabilitation of the Vulgate as being, notwithstanding influences from LXX and other Greek translations, a translation from the Hebrew text, and a broader discussion about the relationship between textual criticism and literary or redaction criticism.

Arie VAN DER KOOIJ

A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words. A Study of the Language of Qobeleth* [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 41] (Departement Oriëntalistiek/Peeters: Leuven, 1992). Pp. xiv + 258. Price: BEF 1750.

The recent decade or so has witnessed a rich crop of studies on the Hebrew language of the most enigmatic of the Old Testament books,

Qoheleth: four monographs — M. Elyoenai, *Mehqarim b-Qobelet u-v-mišley* (Jerusalem, 1977); C.F. Whitley, *Kobelet. His Language and Thought* [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 145] (Berlin, 1979); B. Isaakson, *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth with Special Reference on the Verbal System* [Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 10] (Uppsala, 1987); D.C. Fredericks, *Qoheleth's Language: Re-evaluating its Nature and Date* [Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 3] (Lewiston, 1988) — plus a number of articles including some by the author of the work here under review. This intense interest in his language might be making our ancient sage turn in his grave: "of making many books there is no end" (Qoh 12.12).

As a matter of fact the book of Qoheleth has never ceased to arouse interest on account of the peculiar nature of its language as well as on account of its unique contents. Whilst in earlier decades of this century scholars tried to establish affinities of its language with Aramaic (Torrey, Ginsberg, Zimmerman's Aramaic original theory) and Phoenician (Dahood), the main focus of interest in the recent years has been diachronic, namely the position of the language of Qoheleth in the history of Hebrew, an issue highlighted lately with the publication of the above-named monograph of Fredericks, who argues for a pre-exilic date of the book. Schoors is further aware of scholars' attempts to explain some of the peculiarities of Qoheleth's Hebrew in dialectological (Northern dialect) and literary (genre) terms. The work under review is a collection of studies, incorporating some published earlier as separate articles, on a wide range of issues covering the orthography/phonetics, morphology, and syntax of the Hebrew of Qoheleth; according to the preface, the author is preparing a second volume on the vocabulary in close co-operation with W.C. Delsman, who is writing a doctoral dissertation on the subject. One of the main conclusions arrived at on the basis of these studies is that the language of Qoheleth is a representative of what is currently called Late Biblical Hebrew, a conclusion which appears to the present reviewer sound and reasonable. In contrast to Fredericks' atomistic approach, Schoors justly lays emphasis on the distribution of linguistic features among biblical books. Schoors' approach is further characterised by his close attention to the exegesis of countless Qoheleth passages, for which purpose he draws upon the ancient and modern versions of the book, and mediaeval and modern commentators on it, which makes this work important not only for Hebrew grammarians, but also for Old Testament exegetes. In addition to ancient Northwest Semitic languages, Schoors also evaluates evidences in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew. One only wishes that old Hebrew inscriptions had not been neglected.

In the following I offer some miscellaneous observations on points of detail arising from the reviewer's perusal of this important contribution to the on-going discussion on Late Biblical Hebrew.

P. 24. Sch., discussing the use of dual/plural nouns such as /yād/ and /regel/, thinks that it is natural because man has two hands and two feet. This is oversimplifying the matter. For instance, in the collocation of /yād/ and /nātan/, the use of the singular /yād/ is the rule: it is always /nātan byādām/, and never /nātan bidēhem/.

P. 32. As regards the use of word-medial *matres lectionis*, Sch. still follows the position indicated by Cross and Freedman in their joint doctoral thesis of 1952. One would be surprised and disturbed if they still held on to their original position after the discovery of the Tell Fekheriyeh Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual (8th or 9th cent. B.C.E.) with abundant cases of word-medial vowel letters. This particular section of the book is based on an article of the author's published in 1988: perhaps Sch. should have updated it more thoroughly — footnote 70 is rather dated, there being no mention of two recent important studies, to wit F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes' *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* (1986) and J. Barr's *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (1989), and footnote 72 still quotes E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, an English translation from the 4th German edition, and not from the substantially expanded fifth edition (1988).

P. 55. We sometimes find Sch. arguing in a circle. Thus he writes: "It is striking that Qoh does not use אֵל, which is the almost universally used form [of the relative pronoun] in 4th-3rd century Phoenician" — Sch. would conclude *at the end of his study* that the language of Qoheleth is post-exilic. Similarly on the so-called enclitic Mem (pp. 119-21).

P. 56. Regarding the use of the relative שׁ in Qoheleth, Sch. concludes that it betrays either a northern origin or a late date. J.R. Davila also argues for the possible northern origin of the particle: *Maarav* 5-6 (1990) 82f.

P. 60. Sch. regards זמן to be an Aramaic loan word, and points it as זמן, but the only occurrence of the word in the Bible in the absolute state is Qoh 3.1, but in pause. Biblical Aramaic, alongside זמן (once), shows זמן and suffixed forms such as זמןא. Thus, notwithstanding Accadian *simānu*, the form with a short *a* is not to be excluded.

P. 65. On abstract nouns in Hebrew, see L. Gulkowitsch, *Die Bildung von Abstraktbegriffen in der hebräischen Sprachgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1931).

Pp. 75f. The discussion on מֵאָה Qoh 8.12 is totally oblivious of the fact that the word in the MT is vocalised as construct.

Pp. 86-91. A discussion on the tenses in Late Biblical Hebrew must refer to M. Mishor, מערכת הזמנים בלשון התנאים (Jerusalem, 1983).

P. 93. The strong infinitive construct such as נִסַּע as against the standard נִסֵּעַ is probably not a chronological one, for only נִסַּע is attested (five times, and that in Numbers and Judges).

P. 94. Sch. argues for revocalising Qoh 8.10 יהלכו as יהלכו, but when we find both Pi. and strong Qal of the verb root within Qoh itself, there is no strong reason for departing from the Massoretic text.

Pp. 103-114. Sch. presents a fairly detailed discussion on the alleged emphatic **כִּי** (and also **כִּ** and **לִ**), with no mention made, however, of some recent studies on the subject such as our own *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden/Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 113-64; B. Bandstra, "The syntax of particle 'כִּי' in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic," Diss. Yale University, 1982, esp. Chapter 2; W.T. Claassen, "Speaker orientated functions of *kī* in Biblical Hebrew," *J. of Northwest Semitic Languages* 11 (1983) 29-46, esp. 30-35; A. Aejmelaeus, "Function and interpretation of **כִּי** in Biblical Hebrew," *J. of Biblical Literature* 105 (1986) 193-209; for further literature, see P. Joüon — T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 164.

P. 104. Sch. quotes a fragment of the famous commentary by Gregory Thaumaturgos in Latin. We are not aware of any Latin version of his commentary. Moreover, Sch.'s wording gives the wrong impression as if Gregory knew Hebrew. On this last point, see now J. Jarick, *Gregory Thaumaturgos' Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes* [Septuagint and Cognate Studies 29] (Atlanta, GA, 1990), p. 310.

P. 123. It is true that **עַל דְּבַר** as a compound preposition does not occur in Old Aramaic, but in Egyptian Aramaic we find, as Sch. himself is aware, **עַל דְּבַר** with the same meaning. Without resorting to a Phoenician parallel (as Dahood does), one may point to a synonymous pair in Old Aramaic such as **קִדְמַת / קִדְמָה**.

P. 124. **בְּלֹא** is a restoration in Ahiqar 102, **לֹא** [בְּ], a somewhat unlikely form followed immediately by **בְּיוֹמֶיךָ**. Better perhaps **לֹא** [וְ].

P. 130. The way the notion of "emphasis" is used by Sch. is still rather too vague and ill-defined. Thus he sees "emphatic" **גַּם** in a case such as Qoh 4.14 **גַּם בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ נִלְדָּה כֶּשֶׁ**, which is rendered "even in his (own) kingdom, in the very kingdom ..." On p. 132 Sch. quotes B. Lang's rendering of Qoh 1.17 "Das ist *nichts als* [גַּם זֶה] Wind und Haschen nach Hauch." In most cases, however, Sch. equates "emphatic" with "asseverative" (e.g., p. 128).

P. 137. The conditional **אִן** was not attested before the third century B.C.E. according to Ginsberg (1961), to whom Hermopolis papyri with **אִן** (iv 9, 5th or 6th cent. B.C.E.), published in 1966, were not known.

P. 138. On the etymology and origin of **לֵמָּה** "lest," see a classic treatment of the subject by M. Bravmann, "Syriac *dalmā* 'lest,' 'perhaps' and some related Arabic phenomena," *J. of Semitic Studies* 15 (1970) 189-204.

P. 144. Since Sch. pays considerable attention to likely Aramaic influence on the language of Qoh, one is puzzled over his silence on the manifest parallelism between **בְּאִשְׁרֵי** and Aramaic/Syriac **בְּדִי**; cf. E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae veteris testamenti ...* (Rome, 1971), s.v. **ב**, 4.

P. 146. *Pace* Sch. **בְּדִיל** in later Jewish Aramaic does possess a causal as well as final meaning: see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan, 1990), s.v. **בְּדִיל**.

P. 152. Qoh 7.20 אָדָם אֵין צַדִּיק אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה טוֹב וְלֹא יִחָטָא. Here we have a unique clause structure, for when an indefinite noun precedes אֵין, the latter is normally followed by a local prepositional phrase; see our *Emphatic* etc. [mentioned above], p. 104, no. 10, e.g. Gn 47.13 לַחֵם אֵין בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ. Probably אָדָם here is in casus pendens: "As regards mankind, there is no righteous person ..."; cf. W. Gross, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im biblischen Hebräisch* (St. Ottilien, 1987), p. 132.

P. 153. Sch. quotes Delsman approvingly, who holds that the copula stands between the subject and the predicate only if both are determinate. But cf. Ct 6.9 אַחַת הִיא יוֹנִתִּי.

Pp. 157-59. The question of congruence or lack of it has been the subject of a recent study by J. Levi, *Inkongruenz im biblischen Hebräisch* (Wiesbaden, 1987).

P. 160. What Sch. attributes to us, quoting from our *Emphatic* etc. was not concerned specifically with the peculiar usage in Qoheleth. On p. 49 of our monograph we had described what appeared to us peculiar to the Hebrew of Qoh. It may be interesting to point out that our general understanding of the concept of linguistic "emphasis" crystallised when we were grappling with what was considered by many authorities to be redundant or pleonastic use of personal pronouns with a finite verb as is typical of Qoheleth's language.

P. 161. The use of the personal pronoun with a finite verb has been given full attention in a chapter entirely devoted to it in our *Emphatic* etc., pp. 47-59. See also S. Kogut, "The extra pronominal element in the Bible," *Leshonenu* 46 (1981) 9-26, 97-123, which mysteriously is not aware of our study just mentioned as had appeared in our original Hebrew University doctoral dissertation.

P. 165. וְהָ and כֹּל ought to be considered determinate: see P. Joüon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Bibl. Heb.* [mentioned above], § 125 g.b.

Pp. 178-80. Regarding the use of the infinitive absolute seemingly as a substitute of a finite verb in Phoenician (and Ugaritic), mention ought to be made of the reservation voiced by J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. Vol. 3. Phoenician Inscriptions (Oxford, 1982), p. 37.

P. 187. The use of the preposition לְ with עוֹר is surely no Aramaism?

Takamitsu MURAOKA

P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich and J.E. Sanderson with a contribution by P.J. Parsons, *Qumran Cave 4 — IV. Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert — IX* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1992). Pp. xiv + 250 + 47 plates. ISBN 0-19-826328-7. Price: £ 75.

This is the fourth instalment presenting textual finds from Qumran Cave 4 following, with an exactly ten years' interval, the third instalment published by M. Baillet in 1982 as DJD, vol. 7. From the Foreword one

learns that one of the editors, the late P. Skehan, had begun work on this volume in as early as 1954, and after 26 years' labour had completed the bulk of his work by 1980 when he passed away. The project was subsequently taken over by Ulrich, who was later joined by Sanderson. There would be quite a few scholars, among them Skehan himself, who intensely yearned to see the volume in print, but were alas prevented from doing so. This is largely due to the nature of the documents published here. In comparison, DJD 7 pales in importance. A fairly large number of very tiny scraps of writings, with which one hardly knows what to do, the volume contains two sets of fragments of biblical books of considerable importance for students of the biblical text. The one comprises palaeo-Hebrew fragments of the book of Exodus (4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus¹, 4QpaleoExodus^m, and the other fragments of a Greek version of the Pentateuch, viz. Leviticus (4QLXXLeviticus^a, pap4QLXXLeviticus^b), Numbers (4QLXXNumbers), and Deuteronomy (4QLXXDeuteronomy). Among the first group are also found 4QpaleoGenesis^m, 4QpaleoDeuteronomy^r, 4QpaleoDeuteronomy^s, and 4QpaleoJob^c. The volume thus inaugurates the official full publication of some 127 biblical scrolls from Cave 4, the preceding three Cave 4 volumes (DJD V to VII) being concerned with non-biblical texts. In this volume we find 15 out of those 127 biblical manuscripts published, many of which for the first time.

Comparison with the preceding three Cave 4 volumes shows some substantial differences in the format and mode of presentation of the texts, which has partly to do with the nature of the texts of the present volume. None the less, one notices that far greater attention is paid to the external, physical features of each manuscript published. Another new and welcome feature is the inclusion, where appropriate, of a short, useful bibliography on manuscripts which had been previously published in partial or preliminary form and studied or commented on.

Of the manuscripts published here, the veritable *pièces de résistance* are undoubtedly the two Paleo-Hebrew Exodus fragments and the Greek fragments of the Pentateuch. Though fragmentary, the extent and state of their preservation is reasonable enough to serve as a basis for discussion on their character as a biblical text. This is not to speak of their possible contribution to Hebrew and Greek paleography and other aspects. The former displays unmistakable affinity with the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch. Towards the elucidation of this question, much valuable work had already been done by one of the editors of the volume, Sanderson, whose joining as a co-editor enhances the quality of the volume. As regards the Greek materials, a preliminary assessment had been attempted by Skehan in 1956 and 1977. More recently, Ulrich has attempted a reassessment: "The Septuagint manuscript from Qumran: a reappraisal of their value", in G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars (eds), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*

[Septuagint and Cognate Studies 33] (Atlanta, GA, 1992), pp. 49-80, in which he expresses dissatisfaction with J. Wevers having not adopted, in his edition of the Göttingen Septuagint Pentateuch, any of the fairly numerous variants presented by these Qumran fragments, although the present reviewer does not believe that Ulrich demonstrated that these new variants have more serious claim to be part of the original Septuagint despite the fact that the fragments are older by four centuries or so than any of the extant complete Septuagint manuscripts.

The editors allot a fair amount of space to characterisation of each manuscript published. We are all grateful to them for their expert and considered opinion in this regard. To formulate such an opinion must have been preceded by much independent research, as evidenced by the fact that in Notes and Variants sections following the text the editors very often go beyond the apparatus criticus of BHS. One wonders however whether such work should be considered integral part of the editors' brief. When the editors themselves engage in such independent research of the text they have undertaken to publish, the speed of publication necessarily suffers. The pressure for publication could also result in observations which they might not otherwise have made. To give only a few examples, at Ex 2.24 the new text's reading נֹאקֶת is matched by נֹקֶת/נֹקֶת in the Sam, which are said to be mere orthographic variants, but are they really? At 3.3 the editors note that the scroll's reading אִסְרָה נָא וְאִרְאָה corresponds to Sam אִסּוֹר נָא, and they seem to think that the original form was אִסּוֹר, the plain indicative not followed by the particle נָא, for which they adduce as evidence the LXX, which reads here παρελθὼν ἔψομαι. But what about Gn 18.2 אִרְדָּה וְאִרְאָה with LXX καταβὰς οὖν ἔψομαι and Dt 3.25 אִעֲבֹרָה נָא וְאִרְאָה διαβὰς οὖν ἔψομαι. At Ex 11.5 the editors note that the scroll's עֵד corresponds to ועֵד in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Vorlage of the LXX and the Vulgate with *usque ad*, but this applies to the second occurrence of עֵד in the verse, not the first עֵד which has been preserved in the scroll. Concerning Ex 6.30 יִשְׁמַע אֵלַי = MT, the editors seem to be implying that יִשְׁמַעֲנִי of the Sam agrees with LXX εἰσακούσεται μου, but the LXX is not that consistent: שִׁמַּע אֵל is rendered with εἰσακούσω + gen.pers. at 7.4, 13, 22, 8.11, 15, 9.12.

The volume is beautifully produced and clearly printed. There are a number of useful indexes and indispensable plates. We are all deeply indebted to the editors for their tireless labour, which one can appreciate when confronted by so many tiny fragments. A photograph of Skehan pouring over these fragments in the Rockefeller Museum cannot fail to fill one with a sense of awe and admiration for his dedication to scholarship and unbounded patience. We must wish the members of the newly reconstituted team of editors of the Dead Sea Scrolls steady progress with their work.

Takamitsu MURAOKA

Terry C. Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*. I: 'Alaph-Dalath. (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1991). Pp. xl + 136 + (21). ISBN 90-04-09354-0.

Dr Falla's, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels* is much more than a concordance to the Syriac Gospels (see now G.A. Kiraz, *Concordance to the Syriac New Testament*, 6 Vols, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1992) but the first volume of a six volume work covering the Syriac, as well as the corresponding Greek, terms of the four canonical Gospels. It lists every word in the Peshitta Gospels based on the critical edition of Pusey and Gwilliam (Oxford 1901) and in the passages Lk 22:17-18 and Jn 7:53-8:11 of the Bible Society edition, *The New Testament in Syriac*. The Key gives these words, even particles and interjections, in alphabetical and etymological order, providing the reader under the same heading with the Syriac words that have a similar meaning, an English translation, the various Greek terms that correspond to the Syriac word and all the references. The underlying Greek text used is the United Bible Societies, *Greek New Testament*, which offers the same standard text as Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. All entries display the same clear arrangement in three sections: a) catchword, notation of the part of speech, translation, Syriac words of similar meaning; b) corresponding Greek terms; c) complete sequential concordance of references. In this way the reader or rather the user of Dr Falla's Key is given a valuable tool for the study of the Peshitta Gospels. In particular the beginner in Syriac, who often starts the study of this language coming from the field of biblical studies will find this Key very helpful as a concordance and a dictionary. Its usefulness is further heightened through an alphabetical directory of Syriac terms and an internal alphabetical listing that both are given as an appendix. It may be assumed that this *Key to the Peshitta Gospels* finds its origin in teaching Syriac to students of New Testament.

As a scientific tool, Dr. Falla's volume can be instrumental in studying the translation techniques of biblical texts, in particular from the Greek into the Syriac of the Gospels as he notes in the Introduction. For this area of research he provides the scholar with a complete concordance and a comprehensive critical guide to the Greek behind the Syriac. But the information provided might be and can be misleading, since the entire context of a reading in Greek and Syriac is necessary to judge its value and importance (see Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20, 1979, pp. 69-87). In other words, one has always to consult the full text to understand why a particular corresponding term has been chosen, because the Greek text as such does not exist like the Syriac of the Peshitta. It is therefore a pity that Dr Falla does not give his views or a survey of recent research in the origin and transmission of the *Vetus Syra*, the *Diatessaron*, and the Peshitta and their various links with the Greek text tradition in order to bring out in full relief the importance of his careful and without any doubt time-consuming

work. A. Vööbus (*Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, Louvain 1951), M. Black, (The Sources and Antiquity of the Old Syriac in: *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford, sec. ed. 1954, 197ff.) and T. Baarda, (*Early Transmission of Words of Jesus*. Collected Studies, Amsterdam 1983), to give just a few examples, have made clear how complicated the relations between the various text traditions are, so that a mere comparison of Syriac words and their Greek corresponding terms will not help us any further. Dr Falla might have given a few paradigms, how his work could be useful in this very complex field of research taking into account its present day state and open questions. It would have enhanced the value of his book, which is carefully produced and will prove to be a very useful instrument for Syriac and biblical studies.

H.J.W. DRIJVERS

Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax Presented to Professor J. Hoftijzer, ed. K. Jongeling, H.L. Murre-van den Berg, and L. van Rompay. (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1991).

This important and stimulating volume on Hebrew and Aramaic syntax is dedicated to Professor Jacob Hoftijzer, the distinguished Dutch Semitist and Biblical scholar. Sixteen colleagues and friends have presented Prof. Hoftijzer with a worthy tribute on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday and his retirement from the University of Leiden. Hoftijzer's contributions to the study of the languages and literatures of the Ancient Near East are well known and many of them have earned a permanent place in Semitic bibliographies. Students of Semitics are especially indebted to Prof. Hoftijzer for the *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (DISO), which he completed after the death of Ch.-F. Jean,¹ the *editio princeps* of the Deir 'Alla plaster texts, which were published together with G. van der Kooij,² as well as several works on Hebrew syntax, most notably, the use of the particle 'et,³ word order in nominal clauses in Biblical Hebrew,⁴ the *he locale*,⁵ and the *nun paragomicum*.⁶

This tribute to Prof. Hoftijzer is particularly fitting since many of the studies in the Festschrift deal with Hebrew syntactic and morphosyntactic

¹ A second revised edition, prepared in collaboration with K. Jongeling, is due to appear in the near future.

² *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 19), Leiden 1976.

³ "Remarks Concerning the Use of the Particle 'et in Classical Hebrew, *OTS* 14 (1965) 1-99.

⁴ "The Nominal Clause Reconsidered", *VT* 23 (1973) 446-510.

⁵ *A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-locale in Classical Hebrew* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 12), Leiden 1981.

⁶ *The Function and Use of the Imperfect Forms with Nun Paragomicum in Classical Hebrew* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 21), Assen-Maastricht 1985.

topics on which Hoftijzer himself has written. Most of the articles that appear in this collection take up salient grammatical points that have generated much interest and debate in the past few decades. Twelve of the sixteen articles focus on Biblical Hebrew, one deals with Hebrew and Aramaic, another with the Hebrew of the *piyyuṭim*, and the remaining two deal with Aramaic. The volume includes a bibliography of Hoftijzer's works.

K. Jongeling, T. Muraoka, and L.J. de Regt have all contributed articles on word order in Biblical Hebrew. In "The VSO Character of Hebrew", Jongeling examines the Book of Ruth for VSO and SVO clauses in the light of P. Joüon's claim that Biblical Hebrew was originally a SVO language. Jongeling's results tally with the generally held view that word order in Hebrew is usually VSO (e.g., W. Gesenius and R.J. Williams).⁷ He goes on to compare the Hebrew word order to a non-Semitic VSO language, Welsh. Muraoka, who has written extensively on the subject of word order in Hebrew,⁸ contributes "The Biblical Hebrew Nominal Clause with a Prepositional Phrase". Muraoka's investigation is based on the Books of Genesis and Judges; he also draws on results obtained from a previous study of his on the nominal sentence in Late Biblical Hebrew, Qumran Hebrew, and Tannaitic Hebrew.⁹ After carefully examining Joüon's contention that the prepositional phrase generally precedes the noun in Biblical Hebrew, as well as D. Cohen's assertion that the word order is prepositional phrase + indetermined noun but determined noun + prepositional phrase,¹⁰ Muraoka concludes that the normal sequence in nominal clauses with a prepositional phrase is noun + prepositional phrase¹¹ and demonstrates that the validity of Cohen's classification is questionable in the light of the many exceptions. L.J. de Regt in "Word Order in Different Clause Types in Deuteronomy 1-30" uses the computer to analyse the word order in the Book of Deuteronomy. He demonstrates the frequency of different word orders in different types of clauses, and reaches the conclusion that word order is not a decisive criterion for distinguishing independent clauses from subordinate clauses; word order, however, can be a criterion for distinguishing various types of

⁷ Mention should also be made of the work of T. Givón: "The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect", in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, ed. C.N. Li (Austin-London 1977) 181-254.

⁸ *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem-Leiden 1985) 1-46; idem, "The Nominal Clause in Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew", *Language Studies* 4 (1990) 219-252 (Hebrew).

⁹ See "Nominal Clause" in the preceding note.

¹⁰ Cohen considers it likely that these are language universals.

¹¹ He notes that the order prepositional phrase + noun is statistically more frequent in Late Biblical Hebrew and the Temple Scroll than in Classical Biblical Hebrew, yet it is not the dominant word order in the late sources.

subordinate clauses. E. Talstra, too, touches on the role of the computer in syntactic research in "Clause Types and Clause Hierarchy". Talstra takes up the question of data analysis at the level of clauses and at the level of texts, and discusses the priority of form analysis over function, using 1 Kings 2:8-9 as a model.

"On Direct Speech and the Hebrew Bible" is the title of G. Goldenberg's contribution. As the author notes, direct and indirect speech and related constructions have not always received the attention and treatment they merit. Goldenberg seeks to rectify the inadequate descriptions in Biblical grammars, and in doing so re-examines the nature of direct, indirect, and "semi-indirect speech" in general and the problems involved in differentiating them from one another. Among other things, he notes the role of the different *verba dicendi* in Biblical Hebrew in distinguishing characteristic uses of direct and indirect speech.

There are five contributions to Biblical morphosyntax. The first is that of G.I. Davies, who investigates the use and absence of the particle 'et in extra-Biblical material in "The Use and Non-use of the Particle 'et in Hebrew Inscriptions". Davies supplies the reader with a complete listing and classification of all occurrences and non-occurrences of 'et in inscriptional material. He examines the data chronologically and by corpus in the light of the Biblical data, and reviews the prevailing views on the subject;¹² the extra-Biblical data resemble the Biblical data to a great extent. P. Swiggers analyzes אֵין in "Nominal Sentence Negation in Biblical Hebrew: The Grammatical Status of אֵין" and argues that this form should not be considered a particle or adverb, but rather a fossilized nominal element that functions as the head of a negative predication. M.J. Mulder devotes his article, "Die Partikel אֵין also Konjunktion und Interjektion im biblischen Hebräisch", to the use of אֵין in Biblical Hebrew. After surveying the different arguments in the literature on the function of the particle as an interjection and conjunction, Mulder comes to the conclusion that אֵין almost always functions as an adverb, though there are a few possible examples in which אֵין might serve as a conjunction. In "Some Remarks about the So-called Imperative Use of the Infinitive Absolute [Infinitivus pro Imperativo] in Classical Hebrew", J.H. Hospers writes on the use of the Biblical infinitive absolute as an imperative. Hospers disagrees with the generally accepted view that the infinitive absolute can function as an imperative, and prefers to understand this use of the infinitive absolute, e.g., in the Decalogue שְׁמֹר אֶת-יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת / וְזָכוֹר, as a *casus pendens*, i.e., a focusing, in which the imperative is not implied in the infinitival form, but rather by

¹² Readers should also be referred to the discussion of Y. Lerner, "The Use of אֵין as it Developed in Biblical Hebrew", *Lěšonenu* 52 (1988) 81-93 (Hebrew), which seems to have gone unnoticed.

what follows. According to Hoftijzer, the infinitive absolute in these cases, as in general, emphasizes in the abstract the idea of the verb.¹³

In addition to Hospers's article on the infinitive absolute, there are two more articles devoted to the use of the infinitive. The first, "The Status of the Infinitive in Early Piyyut", by W.J. van Bakkum, describes the forms and functions of the infinitives construct and absolute in *piyyutim* from the 6th-8th centuries. He compares the data with the Biblical and Rabbinic evidence, pointing out new uses.¹⁴ The second article, "Process and Result and the Hebrew Infinitive: A Study in Linguistic Isomorphism" by Y. Tobin, sets out to explain the infinitival biforms of I-n verbs in Biblical and Modern Hebrew, e.g., לִינֹעַ vs. לְנֹעַ, לִינְטַע vs. לְנִטַע. Tobin rejects the standard explanations, which attribute the existence of biforms in Modern Hebrew to style, register, diachrony, or diglossia, and instead claims that the forms with *nun* in both Biblical and Modern Hebrew can express process or result, whereas the forms without *nun* mark result.¹⁵ He postulates further that the ending *-t* found on different weak verbs (e.g., לִדְעַת, לִלְכַת) might also be a marked sign for result.

The two remaining articles on Biblical Hebrew are by J.P. Fokkelman and W.C. Delsman. Fokkelman in "Iterative Forms of the Classical Hebrew Verb: Exploring the Triangle of Style, Syntax, and Text Grammar" integrates style, syntax, and text grammar in his analysis of the iterative chain (*yqtl...wqtl*) in the Books of Samuel. He presents the reader with a detailed look at the individual sequences as well as a broader overview of their distribution and narrative use in Samuel. Fokkelman reads the text with a careful stylistic and syntactic eye, noting, among other things, the use of *kol* and repetition as iterative markers that contribute to a better understanding of the structure of the text. In "Die Inkongruenz im Buch Qoheleth", W.C. Delsman investigates the relatively frequent examples of lack of grammatical concord in the Book of Ecclesiastes. He discusses each of the twenty-five occurrences, classifying them into nine different categories. He does not, however, find a common explanation for the different categories.

Three different periods of Aramaic are discussed in the Festschrift. M.L. Folmer displays methodological rigor in "Some Remarks on the Use of the

¹³ Hospers quotes Gesenius-Kautzsch: "zur Hervorhebung des Verbalbegriffs in abstracto" (W. Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28 Auflage, völlig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch [Leipzig 1909] 353).

¹⁴ One might add to his discussion of the lengthened infinitival forms with ה in Biblical Hebrew the insightful note of A. Cohen, "The Infinitive Plus He", *Lššonenu* 33 (1969) 238-239 (Hebrew).

¹⁵ Tobin is curiously silent about Mishnaic Hebrew, where only forms of the type לִינֹעַ occur. His interpretation of the Biblical data is open to debate, as is his interpretation of the Modern Hebrew forms. In Modern Hebrew the choice of a biform may be due to collocational restrictions.

Finite Verb Form in the Protasis of Conditional Sentences in Aramaic Texts from the Achaemenid Period". Folmer limits her study to protases introduced by *hn* with future time reference. She finds that the choice of suffix and prefix conjugations is partly determined by word order (e.g., the suffix conjugation usually immediately follows *hn*, whereas the prefix conjugation is frequently used when another element precedes the verb). Folmer also believes there is a chronological factor involved in the choice of verbal forms: the use of the suffix conjugation decreases over time, while that of the prefix conjugation increases. C. Meehan's study, "Qal/Pe'al as the Passive of Hif'il/Afel in Mishnaic Hebrew and Middle Aramaic", is an important contribution to our understanding of the relationships between the different conjugations in contemporaneous periods of Hebrew and Aramaic. His argument is well supported by the many examples he has culled from different Middle Aramaic corpora and Mishnaic Hebrew works. Meehan¹⁶ limits his discussion to the basic verbs of motion, but notes that the phenomenon is not restricted to intransitive verbs. L. van Rompay closes the volume with "Some Reflections on the Use of Post-predicative *hwa* in Classical Syriac", touching upon aspects of the status of *hwa* after adjectives and nouns.

The present volume is an interesting, informative, and thought provoking contribution to Hebrew and Aramaic syntax. It does honor to Prof. Hoftijzer.

S.E. FASSBERG

¹⁶ Meehan points out that this phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew was first noted by M. Mishor, *The Tense System in Tannaitic Hebrew*, Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1983 (Hebrew), § 4.05.